









**TRAVELS AND DISCOVERIES**  
**IN**  
**NORTH AND CENTRAL AFRICA.**

**VOL. V.**

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TRAVELS AND DISCOVERIES  
IN  
NORTH AND CENTRAL AFRICA:

BEING A  
JOURNAL OF AN EXPEDITION  
UNDERTAKEN  
UNDER THE AUSPICES OF H.B.M.'S GOVERNMENT,  
IN THE YEARS  
1849—1855.

BY  
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&c. &c.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

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# TRAVELS AND DISCOVERIES

## AFRICA.

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### CHAPTER LXX.

BEGINNING OF THE NEW YEAR.—ANOMALOUS RISING OF THE  
NIGER.—COMMERCIAL RELATIONS OF TIMBÚKTÚ.

I HAD long cherished the hope that the beginning of 1854 would have found me far advanced on my homeward journey; but greatly disappointed in this expectation, I began the year with a fervent prayer for a safe return home in the course of it.

El Médani, my friend from Swéra, or Mogadore, whom I used to call my political thermometer, or rather my politico-meter, on account of his exhibiting towards me friendly feelings only at times when he saw everything quiet, sent me his compliments in the morning of the first of January; nay, even the two leaders of the hostile factions, — Ham-mádi, the rival of my protector, and Táleb Moham-méd, the wealthiest merchant in the town, and the leader of the intriguing merchants from Morocco, — gave me to understand that they wanted to enter

into friendly relations with me. My health as yet was very precarious; but I felt so much recovered in mind and body that, preparatory to my longed for departure, I began arranging the remainder of my baggage, which, with the exception of my small library, had been very much reduced. To my great astonishment and delight, while searching through my lumber, I found another thermometer in good repair. From the remainder of my broken instruments I picked up a good deal of quicksilver; which I gave to the Sheikh, who himself, as well as his other unsophisticated friends, derived a great deal of amusement from observing the qualities of this metal. Meanwhile, my protector endeavoured to make me fully acquainted with the political relation in which he stood to his brothers, Sîdi Mohammed and Zén el 'Abidîn, whom he expected soon to arrive, and of whose different views in politics he gave me some slight hints; and I lamented greatly that the power of this noble family, instead of being strengthened by the number of its conspicuous scions, was only rent and split by the divergency of their views.

The course of my material existence went on very uniformly, with only slight variations. My daily food, when I was in the town, consisted of some milk and bread in the morning, a little kuskus, which the Sheikh used to send, about two in the afternoon, and a dish of negro millet, containing a little meat, or seasoned with the sauce of the kobéwa, or *Cucurbita Melopepo*, after sunset. The meat of Timbúktu, at least during

the cold season, agreed with me infinitely better than that of any other part of Negroland; but this was not the case with the *Melopepo*, although it is an excellent and palatable vegetable. In the beginning of my stay I had consumed a great many young pigeons, which form a favourite dainty in this city. They are sold at the almost incredibly cheap rate of ten shells each, or at the rate of three hundred for a dollar; but the poor little things were used for culinary purposes so soon after breaking the shell as to be almost tasteless. A very rare dainty was formed by an ostrich egg, which was one day brought to me. This article is more easily to be obtained in the desert than in the towns, and such strong food, moreover, is not well adapted to the stomach of a resident. The Sheikh used also to send me a dish late at night, sometimes long after midnight; but, on account of the late hour, I never touched it, and left it to my servants.

It had been arranged that we should make another excursion to Kábara, but our visit was put off from day to day, although I was extremely anxious to witness the features of the country, in the present high level of the river, at the place where I had first landed on my arrival. Thus I was reduced, for entertainment, to my intercourse with the Sheikh, his kinsfolk, and followers; and as religious topics were always brought forward more prominently by my enemies, but especially in the learned letters which the emír of Hamda-Alláhi sent in reply to the

Sheikh\*, my conversation with the former now began to turn more and more upon religious subjects, such as the return of the Messiah, and on the meaning of the name "Paraclete" given in the New Testament to the Holy Spirit, who was to descend upon the apostles, but which by the Mohammedans in more recent times is applied to Mohammed, whose coming, they say, is predicted in this instance by the Holy Book of the Christians.

One day when I visited the Sheikh, the two brothers were engaged in an animated discussion respecting the relation of 'Aísa (Jesus Christ) to Mohammed, and a warm dispute arose on the sophistical question, *whether it would be allowed, after the return of 'Aísa upon earth, to eat camel's flesh.* The Sheikh himself was anxious to prove how difficult it would be for themselves to change any part of their creed after the return of 'Aísa, owing to the difference which existed between the precepts of the two prophets, and thus intended to excuse the Christians for not embracing the creed of Mohammed, after having once adopted that of 'Aísa. The two learned men, in the heat of their dispute, had overlooked the fact that the camel was a prohibited animal to the Jews, but not to the Christians, and hence that the return of 'Aísa would not interfere with their favourite repast. It was by cheerfully entering into these

\* I possess two of these essays, the contents of which at the present moment are not quite devoid of interest, as they show in what light these Mohammedans regard the Christians.

discussions that I obtained for myself the esteem even of those who were most anxious to extort from me as much as possible of my remaining property.

The arrival of another small caravan of the Tawáti was very near causing me a serious embarrassment. Some of the merchants from Morocco, excited by commercial jealousy, had spread the report that the calico brought by that caravan was Christian property, belonging to the English agent in Ghadámes : and I had some difficulty in making the people understand, that, even if that article had originally belonged to the agent, it was now the property of the Tawáti merchants. The presence of those people, also, caused the road to the north, by way of Tawát, to be again brought under discussion, as the route most suitable for my home-journey. My departure was now discussed almost daily ; the arrival of our lively and talkative, but indiscreet messenger, A'hmed el Wádáwi, who had at length returned from his errand to the Awelímmeden, holding out the hope that my departure was in reality not far distant ; but the fact that none of the Tawárek had come with him, notwithstanding his assertion that they were soon to follow, convinced me that my prospect of departure was put off for an indefinite period.

Towards the end of January the waters of the river reached their highest level, exhibiting that marvellous anomaly, in comparison with the period of the rising of other African rivers north of the equator, which is calculated to awaken astonishment in any

man acquainted with the subject. For when he knows that the rising of these rivers is due to the fall of the tropical rains, he will naturally expect that the Niger, like its eastern branch, the Tsádda or Bénuwé, or the Nile, should reach its highest level in August or September. The fact can only be partly explained with the means at our disposal, and in the present state of our knowledge of this part of Africa, although it is illustrated by similar cases, if we compare it with the anomalous rising of some South-African rivers; especially the grand discovery of Dr. Livingstone, the Liambézi, which, forming in its upper course an immense shallow sheet of water, collects here the greatest amount of water at a time (July and August) when its lower course, the Zam-bézi, separated from it and withdrawn from the immediate effects of the waters collected above by the marvellous narrowing of the river-bed from the Falls of Victoria\* downwards, is in its lowest state, and, through the influence of the water by which it is joined in its lower course, reaches here its highest level at quite a different season, February and March. We have before us exactly the same phenomenon *in the case of the Niger, the great West-African river,*

\* I assume here the identity of these two rivers, which, however, has not yet been fully demonstrated. Compare also the anomalous rising of the Chobé (Journ. Royal Geol. Soc., vol. xxii. p. 169.); although an isolated phenomenon, caused by an unusual and unequal fall of rain in the basin of the various branches of a great river-system, must not be confounded with a constant and regular course.





is confirmed as regards Kakóndi and Tímbo by Caillié's observations.\* In the mountainous southern provinces of Abessinia, too, whose latitude corresponds exactly with that of the regions from whence the feeders of the Niger take their rise, the most constant fall of rain has been observed in September. Now while the whole region between Jenne and Timbúktu is of a very flat and level character, so that the river, running along at a very slow rate and with a very meandering course, not only fills a very broad stream spreading out over the neighbouring low lands, but forms also a great many backwaters and basins or lakes of which the Débo is only one although perhaps the largest in size, the river lower down beyond

with regard to Cape Palmas, Fraissinet in *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, 1855, vol. ii. p. 291—293.

\* See Tomaro from Caillié's *Observations in Berghaus's Annal.* 1829, p. 769.; but especially Caillié's own account of his stay in Timé, vol. i. p. 328. (Eng. ed.): "The rains, to be sure, were not so incessant, but we regularly had rain every day, *until October*, when it became less frequent." We know also from Caillié that the Milo, the South-eastern branch of the Niger, or Dhiúlibá, *reaches its highest level in September*. Park's observations, even, show that the rains in the districts traversed by him extend till November; while we learn from him (*Park's First Journey*, 3rd ed. 4to. p. 12.) that the *Gambia*, whose feeders partly issue from the same districts which feed the western branches of the Niger, reaches its highest level in the beginning of October; and when we learn, from the same eminent traveller, that by the beginning of November the *Gambia* had sunk already to its former level, we must take into account the very short course of that river in comparison with the Niger which has a course of two thousand miles. The sinking of the Niger at Sansándi by about four inches, on the 8th of October (Park, vol. ii. p. 274), was only a temporary fluctuation.

Bamba, and especially in the district called Tin-sherifen which we shall visit on our return journey, is shut in and reduced to the width of a few hundred yards, so that the water, having expanded over such an immense tract and not exercising therefore the same pressure which such a volume of water would do under other circumstances if it were kept together in a narrower channel, preserves its level or even still increases in extent and depth, while the surplus produced by the fall of rain in the country higher up has already diminished.

This is my mode of accounting for a phenomenon which seems to contradict in so great a measure the whole of the phenomena which have come under our observation with regard to the effects of rain and the rising of the rivers north and south of the equator, and imparts to the upper course of the Niger the same character as the Gabún and other rivers of the equatorial line which reach their highest level in the course of February.

Of course this state of the upper river, although it does not reach always the same level, cannot fail to exercise an influence also upon the lower part, where it is called Kwára, and where it has been visited repeatedly by Englishmen. But although, on account of their being unaware of this character of the river, they have not paid much attention to its features at the beginning of the hot season, and have even rarely visited it at that period, nevertheless Mr. Laird, who spent several months in the Kwára, has not failed to observe a phenomenon which exactly cor-

responds to the state of the river which I have just described. For he records\* the surprising fact, which formerly must have been quite unintelligible, but which now receives its full illustration, namely, that the river *at Iddá began to rise on the 22nd of March*. This, in my opinion, he erroneously attributes to the rains up the country, as there are no rains whatever during the whole of March, and only a few drops in April; but it is evidently the effect of the waters in the upper and wide part of the river at length beginning to decrease about the middle of February, if we take the current at from  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to 3 miles, as the windings of the river extend to not much less than 2000 miles between Kábara and Iddá. The elevation of Timbúktu above the level of the sea I assume to be about 900 feet.

It was on the 4th of January that the first boat from Kábara approached close to the walls of the town of Timbúktu; and, as the immediate result of such a greater facility of intercourse, the supply of corn became more plentiful, and, in consequence, much cheaper: the *sáa* of millet being sold for 40 shells, and the *suniye*, that is to say, more than two hundred pounds' weight, for 3000, or one Spanish dollar, certainly a very low rate; while I myself, as a foreigner and a stranger, had to pay 3750. The high state of

\* See Laird and Oldfield, vol. ii. p. 275. "It was a source of satisfaction to find that, owing to the rains up the country, the river began to rise about Saturday, March 22nd, since which time it had increased about two inches. A few drops of rain that fell this morning was all that we had at Iddah."

the waters was naturally of the greatest interest to me; and, in order to satisfy my curiosity, the Sheikh took me out on the 9th. Emerging from the town at about the middle of the western wall, where formerly the *báb el gibleh*\* was situated, we went first to the nearest creek of the river, but found here no boats; and then crossing an extremely barren and stony level reached another branch of the creek, where eight or ten smaller boats, without a covering or cabin, were lying; the innermost corner of this creek not being more than four or five hundred yards distant from the Great Mosque, or *Jíngeré-bér*. All the people asserted that the river, at *Kábara*, had now reached its highest level, and even affirmed that it had begun to fall here on the 7th; but, nevertheless, it became evident that the waters were still rising during the whole of the month,—almost endangering the safety of the town. On this occasion I learned that a great inundation in 1640 had flooded a considerable part of the town, and converted into a lake the central and lowest quarter, which is called *Ba-gíndi*, a name derived, as is asserted, from the tank thus formed having been enlivened by hippopotami.†

\* *Shabíni*, in stating that the *báb el gibleh* was the east gate, certainly labours under a mistake, “*gibleh*” with these Western Arabs signifying the west. With regard to the creek, where we saw the boats, see the ground plan, Vol. IV. p. 478, n. 10.

† The hippopotamus being called “*banga*” in the Songhay language, the name, if really derived from that cause, ought to be spelt “*Bangíndi* ;” but the *g* may be a nasal sound.

Interesting as was that day's excursion it cost me dear; for being obliged, not only to be armed myself, but also to have an armed servant with me, I greatly excited the hostile feelings of the merchants from Morocco, and especially of that proud nobleman, 'Abd e' Salám, who went about among the great men of the town, saying, that in Morocco we, the Europeans, or rather the English, were not allowed to wear arms. But to show the absurdity of this assertion, I stated that while travelling in Morocco we received armed horsemen for an escort, while here, where there was no settled form of government, we had to protect ourselves. He then spread the rumour that an armed English vessel had ascended the river as far as Gógó; and this curious report was backed with such strong assertions that my own servant, 'Alí el A'geren, felt convinced of its truth, and *thought it strange when I attempted to prove its absurdity.*

But notwithstanding this hostile feeling, 'Abd e' Salám deemed it prudent to send, next day, his friend, Múláy el Méhedí, in order to excuse himself for the expressions which he had used a few days before with regard to me. It was this man, Múláy el Méhedí, with whom I should have liked to be able to converse on friendly terms, as he was a person of intelligence, and even possessed some little knowledge of astronomy. Indeed, I was not a little astonished when, conversing with him one day about the situation of Timbúktu, he came out with

the statement that the town was situated about 18° N. lat., without my having thrown out the slightest hint in this respect.

All this time the whole of the surrounding country was in a most disturbed state, owing to several expeditions, or forays, which were going on, especially by the restless tribe of the Welád 'Alúsh. They had lately taken 600 camels from the Welád Mebárek, and had now turned their predatory incursions into another direction.

On the 12th of January we again went to the tents, which had now been pitched in another spot, called Ingómaren, at a distance of about six miles a little S. from E.; but this time our stay in the encampment was very unlucky for me in several respects. On the 13th I felt tolerably well, and had a cheerful conversation with my protector about my approaching departure, when he sent me several presents, such as a large cover for the top of the tent\*, called "sarámmu" by the Songhay, "e' béni erréga" by the Moors hereabout, and several leather pillows; but on the 14th, a little after noon, I was seized with such a sudden and severe attack of fever as I had never experienced before, accompanied by violent shivering fits, which made my kind host fear that I had been poisoned. I had drunk, a short time before, some sour milk brought me by a Berbúshi, that is to say, a

\* I have handed over this specimen of Timbúktu manufacture, together with other specimens of leather-work, to the Foreign Office.

man who, although intimately attached to the family of the Sheikh, originally belonged to the tribe of the Berabísh, whose chief murdered Major Laing. Although I myself had no suspicion that the milk which I had drunk had in any way contributed to my sudden attack of illness, yet as that man had some private animosity against me, and did not seem content with a present which I had made him in return for his small gift, I became so irritated, that I ordered him away in a very unceremonious manner, which caused a most unpleasant scene; for, at this conjuncture, all the people, including my own servants and even my very best friends amongst the Sheikh's people, without paying any regard to my feeble state, gave vent to their feelings against me as a Christian.

But the Sheikh himself did not for a moment *change his kind disposition*, sending me tea repeatedly, and calling frequently to see how I was getting on. Fortunately, a tranquil night's repose restored me again to health, and the following morning my friends came to me, one after the other, in order to beg my pardon for their neglect. While we were conversing on the preparations for my journey, a messenger brought the news of the arrival of a very intimate friend of the Sheikh,—Mohammed ben 'Abd-Alláhi el Fútáwi,—who had come, with a numerous suite, in order to stay some time with the Sheikh, and, if possible, to be cured by me of some serious disease: and the prospect of soon leaving

this quarter was greatly darkened by this circumstance.

This was one of those rainy days which are said not to be unusual towards the end of January and the beginning of February in this quarter along the river, though, in the other parts of Negroland that I had visited, I had never beheld anything of the kind. But the quantity of rain that fell even here was very little, for the sky, which had been cloudy in the morning, cleared up about noon; and although in the afternoon it became again overcast, with thunder in the distance followed by lightning towards evening, yet there fell only a few drops of rain in the course of the night.

On the 16th, having made a good breakfast on a goat roasted whole before the fire, we returned again into the town, where I was desired to cure a man of a disease over which I had no power. The character and position of the person would have rendered it a circumstance of the highest importance to me if I had been able to do so. The chronic disease under which Mohammed ben 'Abd-Alláhi, for this is the person of whom I speak, was labouring, cast a melancholy gloom over him. I admired his manners, and the fine expression of his features; but I was disappointed to find that, although well versed in his religious books, he did not possess any historical knowledge as to the former state of these countries, which formed an object of the highest interest to me. The arrival of this person made my pro-



lector forget all the thoughts of my immediate departure.

Besides this circumstance, nothing of interest happened for some days, all the people exhorting me to patience; and, my departure being again put off, fresh attempts were made to convert me, even by my friends, who from sheer friendship could not bear to see me adhere to a creed which they thought erroneous. But I withstood all their attacks, and at times even ventured to ridicule freely some of their superstitious notions. I was far from laughing at the chief principles of their doctrine; but, as they always recurred in their arguments to their belief in sorcery and demons, I declared one day that, as for us, we had made all the demons our "khód-demán." This is an expression with which these people are wont to denote the degraded and servile tribes; and I represented the Europeans as having obtained a victory over the spirits, by ascending in balloons into the higher regions, and from thence firing at them with rifles. The idea that the Christians must have subjected to their will the demoniacal powers, occurs very easily to the mind of the Mohammedan, who does not understand how the former are able to manufacture all the nice things which issue from their hands.

Meanwhile I was glad to break off my relations with my former friend the Waláti, who had recently returned from a journey to A'ribínda, and who came to ask me officially whether he was to accompany me

on my home journey or not; but although I told him plainly, that after all that had happened he could no longer be my companion, I treated him with more generosity than he deserved.

At the same time, I thought it also prudent to cultivate the good will of my servant 'Alí el A'geren, although he had almost entirely separated himself from me, and left me to my fate, since he had become fully aware of the dangerous nature of my position. I demanded from him no sort of service, though his salary of nine dollars a month went on all the time. However, being rather short of cash, and not being able to procure a loan from the people to whom I had been recommended, I was glad to obtain from a friendly Ghadámsi merchant, of the name of Mohammed ben 'Alí ben Táleb, about 50,000 shells, equal to  $13\frac{1}{2}$  mithkál, reckoned at 3800 shells each, and I afterwards was obliged to add another small sum, making the whole 25 mithkáls.

In this place I think it well to give a short sketch of the commercial relations of Timbúktu, though it cannot make the slightest pretension to completeness, as I did not enter into such free intercourse with the natives as would have enabled me to combine a sufficient number of facts into a graphic view of the commercial life of the city. The people with whom I had most intercourse could offer little or no information on the subject. My situation in Kanó had been very different.

The great feature which distinguishes the market of Timbúktu from that of Kanó is the fact, that

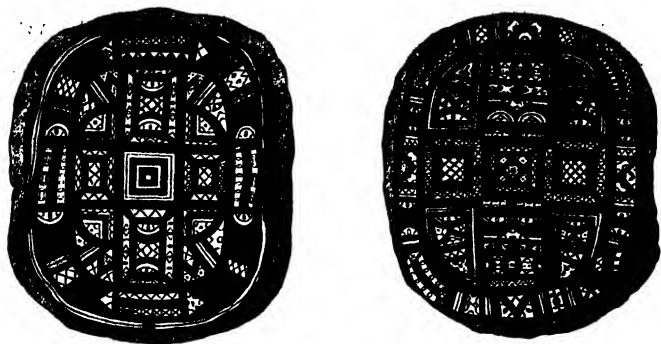


Timbúktu is not at all a manufacturing town, while the emporium of Háusa fully deserves to be classed as such. Almost the whole life of the city is based upon foreign commerce, which, owing to the great northerly bend of the Niger, finds here the most favoured spot for intercourse, while at the same time that splendid river enables the inhabitants to supply all their wants from without; for native corn is not raised here in sufficient quantities to feed even a very

small proportion of the population, and almost all the victuals are imported by water-carriage from Sansánda and the neighbourhood.

The only manufactures carried on in the city, as far as fell under my observation, are confined to the art of the blacksmith, and to a little leather-work. Some of these articles, such as provision or luggage bags, cushions, small leather pouches for tobacco, and gun-cloths, especially the leather bags,

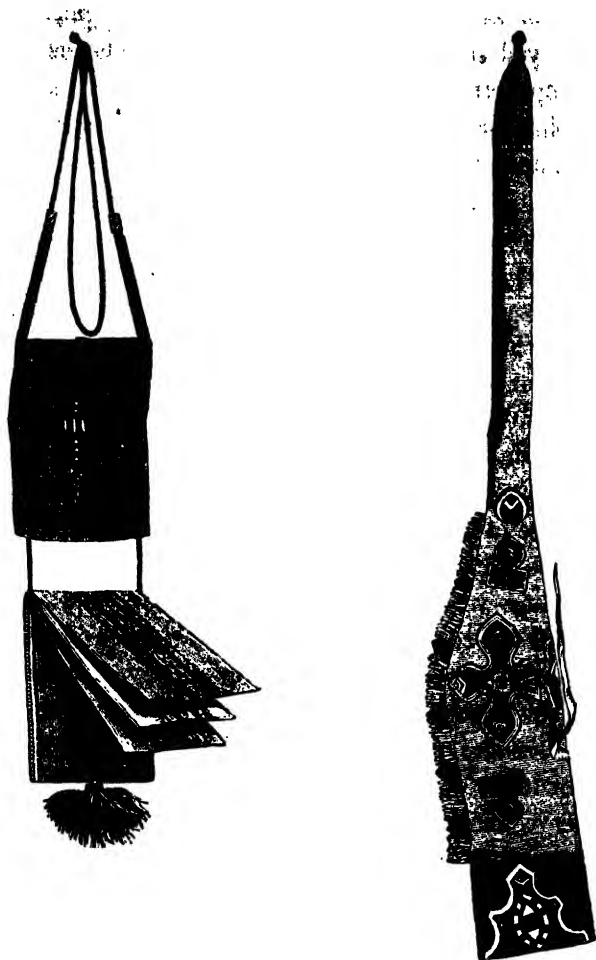
are very neat, as shown in the accompanying wood-cuts; but even these are mostly manufactured by Tawárek, and especially females, so that the industry of the city is hardly of any account. It was formerly supposed that Timbúktu was distinguished on account of its weaving\*, and that the



export of dyed shirts from hence was considerable; but I have already had an opportunity of showing that this was entirely a mistake, almost the whole clothing of the natives themselves, especially that of the wealthier classes, being imported either from Kanó† or from Sansándi, besides the calico imported from England. The export of the produce of Kanó,

\* It may have been so, nevertheless, in the time of Leo, who mentions the many "*botteghe di tessitori di tele di bambagio.*" B. vii. c. 5.

† I will here only observe that Lord Fitzclarence, owing to the inquiries which, on his passage along the Red Sea, he made of a clever pilgrim, obtained a hint of this interesting fact. *Journey from India overland*, p. 423.



especially by way of A'rawán, extends to the very border of the Atlantic, where it comes into contact with the considerable import of Malabar cloth by

way of St. Louis, or Ndér, on the Senegal, while the dyed shirts from Sansándi, which, as far as I had an opportunity of observing, seem to be made of foreign or English calico, and not of native cotton, do not appear to be exported to a greater distance. These shirts are generally distinguished by their rich ornament of coloured silk, and look very pretty; and I am sorry that I was obliged to give away, as, a present a specimen which I intended to bring home with me. The people of Timbúktu are very experienced in the art of adorning their clothing with a fine stitching of silk, but this is done on a very small scale, and even these shirts are only used at home. There is, however, a very considerable degree of industry exercised by the natives of some of the neighbouring districts, especially Fermágha, who produce very excellent woollen blankets, and carpets of various colours, which form a most extensive article of consumption with the natives.

The foreign commerce has especially three great high-roads: that along the river from the south-west (for lower down the river there is at present scarcely any commerce at all), which comprises the trade proceeding from various points; and two roads from the north, that from Morocco on the one hand, and that from Ghadámes on the other. In all this commerce, gold forms the chief staple, although the whole amount of the precious metal exported from this city appears to be exceedingly small, if compared with a European standard. It probably does not exceed an

average of 20,000*l.* sterling per year.\* The gold is brought either from Bambúk or from Búre, but from the former place in a larger quantity. The gold from the country of the Wángaráwa does not reach this market, but, as it seems, at present is directly exported to that part of the southern coast which on this account is called the Gold Coast. The species of gold from Bambúk is of a more yellow colour; that from Búre is rather whitish; and that from Wángara has a greenish hue. Most of this gold, I think, is brought into the town in rings. I do not remember to have seen or heard of gold dust, or "tibber," being brought to market in small leathern bags, such as Shabíni and other people describe, containing about one ounce, equal to twenty-five dollars in value. But, nevertheless, a considerable amount of this article must come into market, as most of the gold dust which comes to Ghadámes and Tripoli passes through Timbúktu, while another portion goes directly from Sansándi to A'rawán.†

It was evidently in consequence of the influence of the Arabs, that the scale of the mithkál‡ was introduced

\* M. Gråberg de Hemsö estimates the export of Morocco manufactures to Negroland at one million dollars, and the import to Morocco from Nigritia, at from three to four millions. *Specchio di Morocco, &c.*, p. 146.

† M. Testa, in his "*Notice statistique et commerciale sur la Régence de Tripoli, 1856*," states the import of gold dust into Tripoli to be of the value of 240,000 francs.

‡ Whether it be true as some maintain (amongst others M. Prax, "*Commerce de l'Algérie, 1849*," p. 13.), that the name

in the trade in gold; but it is a very general term, which may signify very different quantities, and thus we find various kinds of mithkál used in Negroland, especially those of A'gades, Timbúktu, and Mango, the Mandingo place between Yendí and the Niger, the former of which is the smallest, and equal, as I have stated in the proper place, to 1000 shells of Háusa standard, although in the present decayed state of the town of A'gades, where all the gold trade has ceased, it possesses rather an imaginary value. The mithkál of Timbúktu contains the weight of 24 grains of the kharúb tree, or 96 of wheat, and is worth from 3000 to 4000 shells.\* The mithkál of Mango is equal to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  of that of Timbúktu. Besides rings, very handsome ornaments are worked of gold; but, as far as I could learn, most of this workmanship comes from Waláta, which is still celebrated on this account.†

The next article that forms one of the chief staples in Timbúktu, and in some respects even more so than gold, is salt, which, together with gold, formed articles of exchange all along the Niger from the most

mithkál is a corruption of "medical," a term used to denote the small weight used for medical purposes, I am not able to decide.

I always thought that it was derived from ثَقَل

\* M. Prax, p. 12. of the little pamphlet just mentioned in the preceding note, is totally wrong in supposing the mithkál of Timbúktu equal to half a duro, or Spanish dollar, or two fr. sixty cents. The very lowest price is just double.

† There are some interesting articles of gold represented by Lord Fitzclarence in the work above mentioned.



ancient times.\* It is brought from Taödénni, a place whose situation has been tolerably well established by M. Caillié's journey†, and the mines of which have been worked, as we know from A'hmed Bába, since the year 1596, when the former mines of Tegaháza, situated some seventy miles further to the north, were given up. These salt mines of Tegaháza appear to have been worked from very remote times, or at least before the eleventh century; and there can be little doubt that the mines of Tátentál, described by the excellent geographer El Bekrí as situated twenty days' journey from Sijilmésa, and two from the beginning of the desert, are identical with Tegaháza. Even at that time both Sigilmésa and Ghánata were provided from here, while at least the eastern and original portion of Songhay was supplied at that early period from the mines of Taútek, six days from Tademékka.‡

In Taödénni the salt, which covers a very extensive tract of ground in the district "El-Jóf," is formed in five layers, or "úje," the uppermost of which is called el-wára; the second, el-bentí; the third, el-

\* See El Bekrí, ed. de Slane, p. 174:—

يبدل الملح فيها بالذهب

In another passage (p. 183.) he describes the commerce of Gógó in the words:—

وتجارة اهل بلد كوكوا بالملح وهو نقدهم

"The commerce of Gógó consists of salt, and salt is their standard currency."

† See Caillié's *Travels to Timbuctoo*, ii. p. 119; and about Tegaháza, or, as he writes, Trsas, or Trarzas, p. 128.

‡ El Bekrí, p. 171. In the time of Ébn Haukál (a. H. 960) the salt was brought from Aúlíl to Aúdaghost.

hamamiye; the fourth, el-káhela, or the black one; and the lowest, which is embedded in the water, el-kámara, or el-bédha. The upper of these layers are of little value, and the most in request is the fourth layer, or el-káhela, the colour of which is a most beautiful intermixture of black and white, like a species of marble. The ground is let out by the "káid," who resides here, and whose name at the present time is Zén, in small portions, where the diggings are made, and he levies a tribute called the khomús from each hofra, or hole, the rest being sold by the workmen.

The largest pieces of salt which are dug out here measure 3 feet 5 inches in length, 13 inches in height, and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches in thickness, but they are of very unequal size, varying from 50 to 65 lb. in weight; this, however, is only half of one layer, each layer being sawn into two slabs. The price of these slabs of course varies greatly at different times, but, as far as I became aware, in general does not reach such an exorbitant price as has been mentioned by Leo Africanus, Mr. Jackson, General Daumas, and others. When lowest, the price of each middle-sized slab does not exceed 3000 shells; and the highest price which was paid during my residence in the town was 6000, the price always rising towards spring, when the salt caravans become scarce on account of the number of blood-flies which infest the town and the neighbourhood of the river. Of course, when this great highroad is shut up for a long period,

in consequence of feuds between the various tribes, the price may for a time rise much higher, but such cases must be quite exceptional.

The trade in salt on a large scale, as far as regards Timbúktu, is entirely carried on by means of the *túrkedí*, or the cloth for female apparel, manufactured in Kanó; the merchants of Ghadámes bartering in the market of A'rawán six *túrkedí*, or "*mélhafa*," for nine slabs, or "*hajra*," of salt, on condition that the Arabs bring the salt ready to market; or twelve, including the carriage to Taödénni. If they themselves then carry the salt to Timbúktu, they sell there eight slabs of salt for six *mithkál* of gold; but if they carry it to Sansándi, each slab of salt fetches two *mithkál*.

But the expense of this journey up the river is very great, on account of the boats being obliged to *unship their merchandise* at the islands of Jafarábe, whence it is taken to Sansándi on the backs of asses, and on account of the *áshúr*, which is levied by the Fúlbe, the expense is equal to about thirty-three per cent; so that, out of every six slabs of salt transported to Sansándi, two are required for covering the expense of transport. Thus, each *túrkedí* bought in Kanó for about 1800 shells fetches two *mithkál* of gold when sold in Sansándi, while in Timbúktu it fetches from one to one and one sixth. This certainly, when we take into account the price of gold in Ghadámes and Tripoli, is a considerable profit: but the road which this merchandise takes from Kanó to Ghát, thence to Tawát, and from that place to Timbúktu, is very circuitous

and expensive, and requires the agency and co-operation of several persons, no single merchant undertaking the whole of the traffic.

I have already remarked, in the proper place, that Libtáko, or rather Dóre, forms the market-place for the salt for supplying the provinces to the south-east of Timbúktu. It is transported thither by a direct road by way of Tósaye or Gógó, without touching at Timbúktu; while, with regard to the region to the south-west, Sansándi is the great entrepôt for this commerce. The trade in this article, which, in countries where it is wanting entirely, becomes so precious, and the more so the greater its bulk, is, as I said before, of very ancient date in this western part of Negroland. But the salt was brought at that period, not from Taödénni, but from the neighbouring salt mines of Tegháza; and, in the former period, found its entrepôt in Ghánata and Waláta.

The gúro, or kóla nut, which constitutes one of the greatest luxuries of Negroland, is also a most important article of trade. Possessing this, the natives do not feel the want of coffee, which they might so easily cultivate to any extent, the coffee plant seeming to be indigenous in many parts of Negroland. The gúro which is brought to the market of Timbúktu is imported from the provinces of Tangréra, the town which was touched at by M. Caillié on his journey from Sierra Leone to Morocco, and of Teuté and Káni, to the south of Timé; while the gúro which is brought to the market of Kanó is imported from

the northern province of Asanti; and the trees which furnish these different kinds of kóla nuts do not belong to the same species, being distinguished as *Sterculia acuminata*, or the red kóla nut, and *Sterculia macrocarpa*, or the white kóla nut; although the variety appears merely to apply to the seed, the fruit of the latter kind being generally of larger size, while both flower and leaf are quite identical.

But there is a good deal of variety in the character of the gúro nut of each of these two species; and in Kanó four different kinds are distinguished, according to the size of the fruit; namely, the guriye, the largest fruit, which often measures an inch and a half, and sometimes even nearly two inches in diameter, and is sold at a very high price; secondly, the marsakátu; in the third place, the sára-n-wága; and fourth, the ménu. But this is not all. There is a further distinction of three kinds, according to the season when the fruit is gathered: first, the já-n-karágu, the first gúro, which is collected about the end of February, but spoils easily, like the takdúf among the dates; secondly, the gammagári, collected at a later season, when the greater part of the fruit is ripe, and remaining from three to four months on the tree, being regarded by the Arabs as corresponding to those kind of dates called tásfirt; and lastly, there is the náta, the rest of the gúro, and of small size, which does not spoil.

As for the gúro sold in Timbúktu, I had no opportunity of observing so many different varieties, but

only became aware of three distinctions being made, viz. the tinóro, or Tíno-úro, "úro" being the corresponding Songhay name for gúro, and Tíno, or Tína, the name of a district; then the kind called síga; and thirdly, that called fára-fára.

As regards Selga, the district to which the Háusa traders go for their supply of this article, three points are considered essential to the business of the kóla trade; first, that the people of Mesi bring their asses; secondly, that the Tonáwa, or natives of Asanti, bring the nut in sufficient quantities; and thirdly, that the state of the road is such as not to prevent the Háusa people from arriving. If one of these conditions is wanting, the trade is not flourishing. The price of the asses rises with the cheapness of the gúro. The average price of an ass in the market of Selga is 15,000 shells; while in Háusa the general price does not exceed 5000.\* But the fatáki, or native traders, take only as many asses with them from Háusa as are necessary for transporting their luggage, as the toll, or fitto, levied upon each ass by the petty chiefs on the road, is very considerable. From 5000 to 6000 gúro, or kóla nuts, constitute an ass load.

Selga, the market-place for this important article, being, it appears, a most miserable town, where even water is very scarce and can only be purchased at an exorbitant price, the merchants always manage to make their stay here as short as possible, awaiting the proper season in Yendi, a town said to be as large

at Timbúktu, or in Kulféla, the great market-place of Mósí; and they are especially obliged to wait in case they arrive at the beginning of the rainy season, there being no kóla nuts before the latter part of the kharíf. The price of this nut in Timbúktu varies from 10 to 100 shells each, and always constitutes a luxury, so that, even on great festivals, alms consisting of this article are distributed by the rich people of the town.

So much for three of the most important articles of trade in Timbúktu,—gold, salt, and the kóla nut; the salt trade comprising also the dealings in the native cloth manufactured in Kanó, which forms the general medium of exchange for this article, and about which I have already spoken in detailing the commerce of the great entrepôt of Háusa. I will only add here, that, as Kanó is not a very old place, this want must have been supplied before from some other quarter. It is probable that, as long as Songhay was flourishing, such an import was not needed at all; and we find from several remarks made by El Bekrí, and other ancient geographers, that the art of weaving was very flourishing on the Upper Niger, but especially in the town of Silla, from very ancient times.\* It is highly interesting to learn from these accounts that even in the eleventh century the cotton cloth was called in this region by

\* El Bekrí, p. 173:—

وتبايع اهل سلى بالذرة والملح وحلق الخاس وازر لطاف من  
قطن يسمونها الشكيات - الازر المسماة بالشكيات

the same name which it still bears at the present day, namely, "shigge." The price of the articles brought to this market from the region of the Upper Niger, especially from Sansándi, varies greatly, depending as it does upon the supply of the moment. Provisions, during my stay, were, generally speaking, very cheap, while Caillié complains of the high prices which prevailed in his time.\* But it must also be taken into account that the French traveller proceeded from those very countries on the Upper Niger from which Timbúktu is supplied, and where, in consequence, provisions are infinitely cheaper, while I came from countries which, owing to the state of insecurity and warfare into which they have been plunged for a long series of years, were suffering from dearth and famine.

The chief produce brought to the market of Timbúktu consists of rice and negro corn; but I am quite unable to state the quantities imported. Besides these articles, one of the chief products is vegetable butter, or mai-kadéña, which, besides being employed for lighting the dwellings, is used most extensively in cookery as a substitute for animal butter, at least by the poorer class of the inhabitants. Smaller articles, such as pepper, ginger, which is consumed in very great quantities, and sundry other articles, are imported. A small quantity of cotton is also brought into the market, not from Sansándi, I think, but rather from Jimbálla and some of the

\* Caillié, *Journey to Timbúctoo*, ii. p. 33.



neighbouring provinces, no cotton being cultivated in the neighbourhood of the town: but the natives do not seem to practise much weaving at home, even for their own private use.

At the time of my visit, the caravan trade with Morocco, which is by far the most important, was almost interrupted by the feuds raging among the tribes along that road, especially between the E'rgebát and Tájakánt on the one side, and the various sections of the Tájakánt on the other. This is the reason why in that year there were no large caravans at all, which in general arrive about the beginning of November, and leave in December or January.

These caravans from the north are designated, by the Arabs in this region, by the curious name ákabár (in the plural, ákwabír); the origin of which I have not been able to make out, but it is evidently to be ranked among that class of hybrid words used by the people hereabouts, which belong neither to the Arabic nor to the Berber language. The same term is even used in Morocco to denote a very large caravan or an aggregate of many small caravans; but in Timbúktu the term *kafila* is quite unusual for small parties, the name in use being "*réfega*."

In former times these caravans, at least those from Morocco by way of Téfilélet, and from the wadí Dará by way of the territory of the 'Arib, seem to have been numerous, although they never

amounted to the number mentioned in Mr. Jackson's account of Morocco\*, and in various other works.

The small caravans of Tájakánt which arrived during my stay in the town, the largest of which did not number more than seventy or eighty camels, are rather an exception to the rule, and can therefore furnish no data with regard to the average, although I am quite sure that they very rarely exceed 1000 camels. The consequence of this state of things was, that, especially during the first part of my residence, the merchandise from the north fetched a very high price, and sugar was scarcely to be had at all.

With regard to European manufactures, the road from Morocco is still the most important for some articles, such as red cloth, coarse coverings, sashes, looking-glasses, cutlery, tobacco; while calico especially, bleached as well as unbleached, is also imported by way of Ghadámes, and in such quantities of late, that it has greatly excited the jealousy of the Morocco merchants. The inhabitants of Ghadámes are certainly the chief agents in spreading this manufacture over the whole north-western part of Africa, and, in consequence, several of the wealthier Ghadámsi merchants employ agents here. The most respectable among the foreign merchants in Timbúktu is Táleb Mohammed,

\* P. 96. Here Jackson states the average size of such a caravan at 10,000 camels; and even the more cautious M. Gråberg de Hemsö repeats these statements in his "Specchio di Morocco," p. 144. seq. "Ciononostante (le caravane) conducono talvolta seco da 16 fino a 20 mila cammelli."

who exercises at the same time a very considerable political influence; and the wealthiest merchants from Morocco besides him, during the time of my stay, were El Méhedí, the astronomer, Múlá 'Abd e' Salám, the nobleman, and my friend the Swéri: while among the Ghadámsi merchants, Mohammed ben Táleb, Snúsi ben Kyári, Mohammed Lebbe-Lebbe, Haj 'Alí ben Sháwa, and Mohammed Weled el Kádhi, were those most worth mentioning.

But to apply even to these first-rate merchants a European standard of wealth would be quite erroneous, the actual property of none of them exceeding probably 10,000 dollars, and even that being rather an exceptional case. Scarcely any of them transact business on a large scale, the greater part of them being merely agents for other merchants residing in Ghadáms, Swéra (Mogador), Merákesh (Morocco), and Fás.

The greater part of the European merchandise comes by way of Swéra, where several European merchants reside, and from this quarter proceeds especially the common red cloth, which, together with calico, forms one of the chief articles of European trade brought into the market. All the calico which I saw bore the name of one and the same Manchester firm, printed upon it in Arabic letters. But I am quite unable, either with respect to this article or any other, to give an account of the quantity brought into market. All the cutlery in Timbúktu is of English workmanship. Tea forms a standard article of consumption

with the Arabs settled in and around the town; for the natives it is rather too expensive a luxury.

A feature which greatly distinguishes the market of Timbúktu from that of Kanó, is the almost entire absence of that miserable kind of silk, or rather refuse, "twáni" and "kundra," which forms the staple article in the market of Kanó. Other articles also of the delicate Nüremberg manufacture are entirely wanting in this market: such as the small round looking-glasses, called "lemmá," which some time ago had almost a general currency in Kanó. The market of Timbúktu, therefore, though not so rich in quantity, surpasses the rival market of Kanó in the quality of the merchandise. Bernúses, or Arab cloaks, furnished with a hood, also seem to be disposed of here to a considerable extent, although they must form too costly a dress for most of the officers at the courts of the petty chiefs, in the reduced state of all the kingdoms hereabouts; and at all events they are much more rarely seen here than in the eastern part of Negroland. These bernúses of course are prepared by the Arabs and Moors in the north, but the cloth is of European manufacture. The calico imported constitutes a very important article. It is carried from here up the country as far as Sansándi, although in the latter place it comes into competition with the same article which is brought from the western and south-western coasts. \*

Among the Arab merchandise tobacco forms a considerable article of consumption, especially that pro-

duced in Wádí Nún, and called, *par excellence*, "el warga," "the leaf," as it is not only smoked by the Arabs and natives in the country, as far as they are not exposed to the censure of the ruling race, of the Fúlbe, but is even exported to Sansándi. I have already observed that tobacco constitutes a contraband article in all the towns where the Fúlbe of Hamda-Alláhi exercise dominion, and in Timbúktu especially, where one can only indulge in this luxury in a clandestine manner.

Tobacco, together with dates, forms also the chief article of import from Tawát, the species from that place being called "el wargat," the leaves indicating its inferior character to the first-rate article from Wádí Nún. Dates and tobacco form articles of trade among the people of Tawát, the poor tradesmen of that country possessing very little of themselves besides. But the quantity of these articles imported has also been greatly overrated by those who have spoken of the commercial relations of these regions from a distance. At least I am sure that the whole of the time I was staying in the town only about twenty camel-loads of these two articles together were imported.

With regard to exports, they consisted, at the time of my stay in the place, of very little besides gold and a moderate quantity of gum and wax, while ivory and slaves, as far as I was able to ascertain, seemed not to be exported to any considerable amount. However, a tolerable proportion of the entire export from these regions proceeds by way of A'rawán,

without touching at Timbúktu. At any rate, those gentlemen who estimate the annual export of slaves from Negroland to Morocco at about 4000\* are certainly mistaken, although in this, as well as in other respects, the exceptional and anarchical state of the whole country at the time of my residence, and my own most critical situation, did not allow me to arrive at any positive results. Thus much is certain, that an immense field is here opened to European energy, to revive the trade which, under a stable government, formerly animated this quarter of the globe, and which might again flourish to great extent. For the situation of Timbúktu is of the highest commercial importance, lying as it does at the point where the great river of Western Africa, in a serpentlike winding, approaches most closely to that outlying and most extensive oasis of "the far West," — Mághreb el Aksa, of the Mohammedan world, — I mean Tawát, which forms the natural medium between the commercial life of this fertile and populous region and the north; and whether it be Timbúktu, Waláta, or Ghánata, there will always be in this neighbourhood a great commercial *entrepôt*, as long as mankind retain their tendency to international intercourse and exchange of produce.

\* Gråberg de Hemsö, *Specchio di Morocco*, p. 146. Besides slaves, he enumerates as articles of export from Timbúktu to Morocco, ivory, rhinoceros horns, incense, gold dust, cotton strips (? verghe), jewels, ostrich feathers of the first quality, gum copal, cotton, pepper, cardamom, asafetida, and indigo.

## CHAP. LXXI.

## DIARY CONTINUED.

BEING enabled to collect a good deal of information, as far as my situation allowed, I did not choose to accompany the Sheikh when he again went to the tents on the 24th of January. He promised that he would only stay a day or two, but he did not return until the 29th. On this occasion I took the liberty of reminding him that he was not over-scrupulous in keeping his word; but, in his amiable way, he evasively replied, "that if a person had only one fault, or 'áíb,' it was of no consequence." Among my informants at this time, two Kanúri travellers, who had visited all the countries of the Wángaráwa, or Eastern Mandingoes, and one of whom had penetrated even as far as the Gold Coast, were most distinguished. Besides a good deal of information, especially with regard to the topography of the country of Mósi, they gave me an account of the petty struggle between the Swedish and the Tonáwa or Asanti; and they also informed me that the Mósi people had plundered the villages of Dúna, Kúbo, and Isáy, all of them belonging to the province of Dalla, which we had passed on our road hither, and where, they said,

no inhabitants were now left. The sheikho A'hmedu, after having collected an expedition against the I'regenáten, had changed his plans, in order to march against the mountain stronghold of Konna; but, as we afterwards heard, he was repulsed by the natives, the Sáro, who, relying upon their strong position, defended themselves with great valour.

Meanwhile, the salt, the staple produce of Timbúktu, gradually became dearer, the large "rás" fetching now 3800 shells; for, as I have stated, the price constantly increases, caravans not being enabled to visit the place during the following months, till the end of April, on account of the large blood-flies infesting the river. A small caravan containing from forty to fifty camels, which arrived on the 28th, was one of the latest that came into the town.

Thus ended the month of January, with utter disappointment at the failure of my expected departure, and with nothing but empty promises. After a sleepless night, I awoke on the 1st of February full of anxiety. I felt really afraid lest my host, notwithstanding his friendly disposition towards me, might keep me here the whole summer. At length I eased my mind in a slight degree by writing a letter to the Sheikh, wherein I made him a witness against himself, in having so repeatedly given me his word, that I should certainly leave this city and proceed on my home journey. But matters, indeed, now looked more serious, another Púllo officer of well-known energy, viz. A'tkar, the governor of Gúndam and



Díre, having arrived with a considerable troop of armed men from Hamda-A'llahi, and another man of still more importance, A'hmed el Férreji, was soon expected. The Fúlbe seemed fully resolved to vindicate their power and authority over the town; and, in order to show that they were masters of the place, they exacted this year a tribute of 2000 shells on each slave with great severity.

Uncertain as were my prospects, I contrived to pass my time usefully by applying myself to the study of the idiom of the Western Tawárek, with Moham-med ben Khottár, the Sheikh's nephew, and a Tárki of the name of Músa, for my teachers. Thus endeavouring to master my impatience, I listened with composure to the several rumours which were repeatedly spread with regard to the arrival of the various brothers of the Sheikh, an event which, according to his statement, formed now the only reason for delaying my departure. But in a long private conversation which I had with him on the 4th, when I urged him more than usual, he began to appeal to my humane feelings, and, discarding all political motives, confessed that the chief reason which detained him was the pregnancy of his wife, and earnestly begged me to await the result of this event.

All this time, on account of the unusual height which the inundation had reached this year, a great deal of sickness prevailed in the town; and among the various people who fell a sacrifice to the disease was the son of Táleb Mohammed, the richest and

most influential Arab merchant in the place, whose life I should have liked very much to save; but, seeing that the cure was very uncertain, I thought it more prudent (as I always did in such cases) not to give him any medicine at all.

Having staid several days in the town, we again went out to the tents in the afternoon of the 8th, in the company of Rummán and Mushtába, two Tawárek chiefs who had come to pay the Sheikh a visit. On emerging from the A'beraz, I had with the latter a horse-race to some distance. As the Fullán seemed to have some projects against the Tawárek, and had strengthened their military power in the town of Gúndam, these Berber tribes were very much irritated against the former; they had even made an attack on a boat, and killed one of the Fullán and wounded another, while those of their tribe who were settled nearest to Gúndam thought it more prudent to change their dwelling-place, and to migrate further eastward.

According to the profession of the two chiefs who accompanied us, they did not wish to be at peace with that warlike tribe which is daily spreading in every direction; but, notwithstanding their personal valour, the Tawárek are so wanting in unity that they can never follow any line of policy, with very great results, while those who have a little property of their own are easily gained over by the other party. Thus, instead of sticking closely to the Sheikh, and enabling him to make a firm stand against the Fullán, they

seriously affected his interest at this time, by plundering, disarming, and slaying four Tawáti, who belonged to a small caravan that arrived on the 11th, and who, like all their countrymen, enjoyed the special protection of the Sheikh.

My friend seemed at this moment to doubt the arrival of his brothers, not less than that of Alkúttabu, the great chief of the Awelímmiden, and endeavoured to console me for the long delay of my departure by saying that it was the custom with them to keep their guests at least a year in their company. He informed me, at the same time, that he wanted to make me a present of a horse, and that I might then, if I liked, give one of my own horses to Alkúttabu. He was this day more communicative than usual, and sat a long time with me and his pupils, delivering to us a lecture on the equal rank of the prophets, who, he said, had each of them one distinguishing quality, but that none of them ought to be preferred to the other. He dwelt particularly on the distinguished qualities of Moses, or Músa, who was a great favourite with him, although he was far from being friendly disposed towards the Jews, the spirit of Mohammed Ben 'Abd el Kerím el Maghíli, who hated that nation from the bottom of his heart, and preached the Jihád against it, having communicated itself to the Mohammedan inhabitants of this part of Negroland.

At another time my friend entered, without any prejudice, into the subject of wine and pork, and he had not much to say against the argument with

which I used to defend myself from attacks in this respect; viz. that while we believed religion to concern the soul and the dealings of men towards each other, we thought all that regarded food was left by the Creator to man himself; but, of course, he would have been greatly shocked if he had beheld the scenes exhibited every evening by gin palaces in the midst of the very acme of European civilisation.

At other times again, taking out of his small library the Arabic version of Hippocrates, which he valued extremely, he was very anxious for information as to the identity of the plant smentioned by the Arab authors. This volume of Hippocrates had been a present from Captain Clapperton to Sultan Bello of Sókoto, from whom my friend had received it among other articles as an acknowledgment of his learning. I may assert, with full confidence, that those few books taken by the gallant Scotch captain into Central Africa have had a greater effect in reconciling the men of authority in Africa to the character of Europeans, than the most costly present ever made to them; and I hope, therefore, that gifts like these may not be looked upon grudgingly by people who would otherwise object to do anything which might seem to favour Mohammedanism.

We staid at the tents till the 14th; the time, on this occasion, hanging less heavily upon my hands than formerly, in consequence of the more cheerful and communicative disposition of my host, and because I was able to gather some little information. The

weather, too, was more genial. We had a really warm day on the 13th, and I employed the fine morning in taking a long walk over the several small sandy ridges which intersect this district. There were just at the time very few people about here who might cause me any danger, and I only fell in with the goatherds, who were feeding their flocks by cutting down those branches of the thorny trees which contained young offshoots and leaves. But the Sheikh, having received some private information, suspected that our enemies might make another attempt against my safety; and having requested me to send my servant, 'Abd-Alláhi, into the town, in the course of the day, to inform my people that we were about to return, he mounted with me, after the moon had risen, and we again entered our old quarters.

February 16th. This morning one of my men, the Zaberma half-caste, Sambo, whom I had taken into my service at the residence of Galaijo, came to request to be dismissed my service. In the afternoon I went to pay my respects to the Sheikh, and was rather astonished to hear him announce my departure more seriously and more firmly than usual: but the reason was, that he had authentic news that his elder brother, Sídi Mohammed, whose arrival he had been expecting so long, and whom he wanted to leave in his stead when obliged to escort me the first part of my journey, was close at hand. The big drum having really announced his arrival at the tents, we mounted on horseback, half an hour before midnight, and arrived at the encampment a little before two o'clock in the morning.

Here everything, notwithstanding the lateness of the hour, bore a festive character, and a large tent had been pitched for the noble visitor at the foot of the hilly slope, the top of which was occupied by the Sheikh's own tents.

The eldest member of this princely family was a man a little above the middle height and strongly built, with a fine commanding expression of countenance, and manners more stern and warlike than those of El Bakáy, but not wanting in affability and natural cheerfulness. In the position in which I was placed, as a stranger, not only of a foreign country and nationality, but of an opposite creed, and as the cause of so many difficulties to these people in their political affairs, I could not expect that this man would receive me, at our first interview, with remarkable kindness and cordiality. It was therefore not to be wondered at that, in the beginning, he asked me a great many questions which it was not agreeable for me to answer in the presence of strangers.

Next day, Hammádi, the son of El Mukhtár, the near relative of El Bakáy, and the latter's chief adversary, and therefore my enemy, arrived with several followers at the encampment. El Bakáy constrained himself, for his elder brother's sake, to remain in the same tent with Hammádi; but Sídi Alawáte, the younger and more reckless brother, was not to be persuaded to enter the tent as long as his hated cousin was there. He spent the day in my tent till his enemy was gone. Sídi Mo-

hammed did not seem to be at all unfavourably disposed towards Hammádi, and wanted even to enter the town in his company; but he was obliged to yield to the combined efforts of his two younger brothers, who refused the company of their cousin.

This was the first opportunity I had of seeing Hammádi, with whom I had wished from the beginning to be on friendly terms, but was forced by the policy of my host to avoid all intercourse with him, and thus to make him my adversary, as he was that of the Sheikh. I had received a favourable account of his learning from different quarters; but his personal appearance was certainly not very prepossessing. He was of a stout figure, with broad coarse features, strongly marked with the small-pox, and of a very dark complexion, his descent from a female slave being his chief disadvantage.

Sídi Mohammed was very anxious to get into the town, but El Bakáy, with his usual slowness, and perhaps this time longer detained by the interesting situation of his wife, made his appearance at a very late hour in the afternoon, and endeavoured to defer our departure till the next day; but his elder brother was too energetic to be thus put off, and having given sufficient vent to his dissatisfaction on account of the too great influence which Mrs. Bák (that was the name of El Bakáy's wife) exercised over his brother, and asking me with an ingenious turn whether I knew who was more influential than sheikho A'hmedu ben A'hmedu and lorded it over his brother, he mounted

his horse and sent his young nephew to tell his father that he was ready and was expecting him. Thus forced against his own inclination, the Sheikh at length disengaged himself from his family, and we went into the town in the company of a few horsemen who had come out to pay their respects to Sidi Mohammed, firing a few shots as we entered the place.

Of course, in a town where no strong government is established, and where every great man exercised all the influence and power of which he was capable, due homage and tribute were to be rendered to this potentate of the desert who came to honour it with a visit. A musical performance took place in front of the house of the Sheikh, where he took up his quarters; and each foreign merchant prepared a gift, according to his wealth, by which to obtain the protection of this man, or rather to forestall his intrigues. These gifts were by no means small; and I felt a great deal of compassion for my friend 'Alí ben Táleb, whose present, although by no means trifling, was sent back by Sidi Mohammed as neither adequate to the dignity of the receiver nor to that of the giver. I myself also found it necessary to make to this dignitary a respectable present. I gave him the finest bernús or Arab mantle which I had still left, besides a black tobe, and sundry smaller articles.

In other respects the town at this time became rather quieter, and trade was more dull. The small caravan of the Tájakánt, some members of which had only spent a few days in the town, left on



the 20th; and the only articles which they took with them were salt and a little calico. Even directly from the north, along the most frequented route, the trade became insignificant; and a party of merchants who arrived from Tawát on the following day was exceedingly small. Among them were two respectable Ghadámsiye merchants, but having resided three or four months in Tawát, they brought neither recent news nor letters for me. However, they came just in time, as on the 22nd a countryman of theirs, of some importance, died, and I learned on this occasion something about the property of merchants in this place. The deceased was a tolerably wealthy man; among the property which he left there being found about 2000 mithkál in gold, a considerable sum of money for this place, although it did not belong to himself, but to the Tíniyan, or the well-known Ghadámsi family of the Tíni, whose agent he was. The house where he lived was worth 200 mithkál.

Having, while in the town, much time at my disposal, and only little intercourse with the people, I had made ready another parcel containing the information which I had been able to collect for sending to Europe; and it was well that I had done so, as early on the 26th a small troop of poor Tawáti traders left for their native home. But, unfortunately, this parcel did not find Her Britannic Majesty's agent to whom it was addressed at Ghadáms, as he had left his post for the Crimea; and thus my family was thrown into the deepest grief in conse-

quence of the rumour of my death; all my effects were buried; and when I arrived at length in Háusa, where I had reckoned to find every thing that I wanted, I found even the supplies which I had left drawn away from me, as from a dead man.

Almost the whole of January and the beginning of February had been in general cold, with a thick and foggy atmosphere, well representing that season which the Tawárek call with the emphatic and expressive name "the black nights," éhaden esáttafnén; and all this time the river was continually rising or preserving the highest level which it had reached. But on the 17th the river, after having puzzled us several times as to its actual state, had really begun to decrease, and almost immediately afterwards the weather became clearer and finer, thus testifying to the assertion of the Tawárek—who have exchanged their abodes in the desert for this border district along the river, as well as the Arabs, who give to this season the name of the forty nights—that the river never begins really to decrease before the end of this period. The greatest danger from the inundation is just at this time, when the waters recede, as the rising ground on which the hamlets along the shore are situated has been undermined and frequently gives way; and we received intelligence on the 22nd that the hamlet of Bétagungu, which is situated between Kábara and Gúndam, had been destroyed in this manner.

Although I had enjoyed a greater degree of security

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for some time, my situation, after a short respite, soon assumed again a serious character, and hostile elements were gathering from different quarters; for, while a very important mission was just approaching from Hamda-Alláhi, on the 25th we received the news that 'Abidín, that member of the family of Mukhtár who followed a policy entirely opposite to that of El Bakáy, was reported to be near, and he was conducted into the town by Hammádi with considerable display.

In the morning of the following day, just as the atmosphere changed from bright to gloomy, a powerful Púllo officer, and a prince of the blood, Hámedu, a son of Mohammed Lebbo, entered the town with a numerous troop on horseback and on foot, among whom were ten musketeers. They marched past my house on purpose, although the direct road from Kábara did not lead that way, in order to frighten me, while I, with the intention of showing them that they had entirely failed in their object, opened the door of my house, displaying in the hall all my firearms, and my people close at hand ready to use them.

But my little band became more and more reduced, for when the chief of my followers, the Méjebri, 'Alí el A'geren, saw a fresh storm gathering against me, he disclaimed any further obligation towards me, notwithstanding the salary which he continued to receive. But, as I had given him up long before, this further manifestation of his faithlessness did not make a great impression upon me. On the other hand, I had attached to myself, by the present which I had

bestowed upon him, the eldest brother of the family upon whose good-will, under the present circumstances, a great deal depended.

Thus approached the 27th of February, when the real character of the mission from Hamda-Alláhi, of which Hámedu had only been the forerunner, was disclosed. Having been in a lazy and rather melancholy mood the whole day, I was reclining on my simple couch in the evening, when I was surprised by the Sheikh's nephew entering abruptly, and, although betraying by his sad and serious countenance that something very grave oppressed his mind, yet squatting silently down without being able or feeling inclined to say a word. Scarcely had he left me, when my Tawáti friend, Mohammed el 'Aísh, who continued to show me a great deal of kindness and sympathy, called me into the Sheikh's presence. I was ushered in with great precaution through the hall and up the narrow winding staircase, and found the three brothers in the terrace-room engaged in serious consultation.

After I had taken my seat, they informed me that the Fullán were making a last attempt against my safety, and that, together with Kaúri, the former emír, a distinguished nobleman of the name of Mohammed el Férreji, had arrived in Kábara accompanied by a troop of about one hundred men, and that the latter messenger had addressed to my host two letters of very different character and tenour, one being full of manifestations of friendship, and the

other couched in most threatening terms, to the effect that something serious would happen if he did not send me off before he (Férreji) entered the town. But, no active course of proceedings was resolved upon, although Mohammed, who was the most energetic of the three, proposed that we should mount on horseback and pass the night on the road to Kábara, partly in order to prevent the inhabitants of the town from joining the Fullán in that place, in conformity with the order which they had received, partly in order to intercept anything that might come from the hostile camp. While proposing this energetic measure, the chief of A'zawád was playing with his four-barreled musket, which, even under these momentous circumstances, excited my curiosity almost more than anything else, as I had never seen anything like it in Europe. It was of excellent workmanship, but I could not say of what peculiar character, as it did not bear any distinct mark of nationality. Of course I suspected, when I first beheld it, that it had belonged to the late unfortunate Major Laing, but I was distinctly assured by all the people, though I would scarcely believe it, that this was not the case, and that it had been purchased from American traders at Portendik. At present it was rather short, the uppermost part having been taken off in consequence of an accident; but it was nevertheless a very useful weapon and not at all heavy. It was made for flints, there being only two cocks, but a cannon to each barrel.

Having discussed various proposals with regard to my safety, with characteristic slowness, and coupling serious observations with various amusing stories, Sidi Mohammed sat down and wrote a formal protest in my favour, and sent it to the emír Kaúri. However, I doubt whether, on a serious inquiry, this paper would have been regarded by Christians as very flattering to their position in the world; the principal argument brought forward by my noble friend and protector for not dealing with me in so cruel a manner being, that I was not "ákáfir" than the "ráis," meaning that I was not a greater "káfir," or unbeliever, than Major Laing; for, besides not being very complimentary, it left it open to our adversaries to reply, that they did not intend to treat me worse than the Major had been treated, who, as is well known, having been forced to leave the town, was barbarously murdered in the desert.

A messenger from the emír having arrived, the Sheikh himself made a long speech, telling him under what circumstances I had reached this place, and that now I had once placed myself under his protection, there was nothing but honourable peace, both for himself and his guest, or war. Upon this the messenger observed in an ironical manner, that, El Férreji (who had been sent to compromise with the Sheikh) being a learned man like himself, everything would end well; meaning, that they would know, if not able to succeed by force, how to vanquish him with arguments taken from their creed. Another protest having

been sent to Táleb Mohammed, who, as I stated before, although nothing but a merchant, exercised a great political influence in this anarchical place, I went home to refresh myself with a cup of tea, and then made preparations for the eventual defence of my house, and for hiding the more valuable of my effects: after which I returned to the residence of El Bakáy, about midnight, and found the holy man himself, armed with a double-barreled gun, about to enter the great *segífa*, or parlour, which he had allotted to his faithful and discreet storekeeper, Táleb el Wáfi. Here we sat down; and soon about forty men gathered round us, armed partly with spears and partly with muskets, when, after a great deal of useless talk as to what was to be done, it was agreed upon to send one messenger to the Tawárek chiefs, Rummán and Mushtába, whose acquaintance I had made on a former occasion, and who at present were encamped in Mushérrek, a locality rich in pasture-grounds and well protected by three branches of the river, to the south-west of the town,—and another messenger to our friends the Kel-úlli, in order to summon these people to our assistance.

Meanwhile the Sheikh, seated on the raised platform of clay which occupied the left corner of the parlour, entertained the sleepy assembly with stories of the prophets, especially Músa and Mohammed, and the victories achieved by the latter, in the beginning of his career, over his numerous adversaries. The quiet of the listless assembly was only disturbed

for a time by a shriek issuing from the northern part of the town, and everybody snatched his gun and ran out; but it was soon found that the alarm was caused by our own messengers, who, on leaving the place, had disturbed the repose of the inhabitants of the suburb, or "A'beraz," the latter supposing them to belong to a foray of the predatory and enterprising Welád 'Alúsh, who were then infesting A'zawád.

Having thus sat up the whole night, full of curious reflections on these tragi-comic scenes, I returned to my quarters about five o'clock in the morning, and endeavoured to raise my exhausted spirits by means of some coffee. However, our precautions, insufficient as they might seem to a European, had had their full effect, and the Púllo messenger did not dare to enter the town before noon, and even then, although joined by about sixty horsemen from the townspeople, was afraid to traverse our warlike quarter.

Meanwhile Sídi Mohammed and A'lawáte had left the town with a troop of armed men, under the pretext of observing the movements of the enemy, but perhaps in order to show them that they themselves did not coincide with all the views of the Sheikh. Going then to the residence, I found nearly two hundred people assembled there, most of them armed, and including among their number even the Púllo, Mohammed ben 'Abd-Alláhi, who did not conceal the greater friendship he felt for the Sheikh than for his own countrymen; the Fúlbe of Hamda-Alláhi. While I was there,



Mohammed Saïd, the officer who had been sent to capture me on a previous occasion, was despatched as a messenger by Férreji, the new officer; and, under the present circumstances, disguising all hostile intentions, he was desirous to know what was the reason of this show of arms; such not being in accordance with the Sheikh's former character, and it being rather his duty to bestow hospitable treatment upon his old friend, El Férreji.

Although this was rather a curious distortion of facts, I was still more astonished at the answer of the Sheikh, who replied, that he had only followed the example of his two brothers. But the business was not settled in this manner. Late in the evening there was another serious consultation in the terrace-room of the Sheikh, and Sídi A'lawáte was despatched to Férreji to elicit from him an indication of his real intentions. Sídi Mohammed, meanwhile, in order to pass away the time, opened a cheerful and jocose conversation, by questioning me respecting the social position and the various relations of the other sex in my own country,—a subject which always possesses a great deal of attraction, even amongst the most serious of the Mohammedans.

HAVING then been obliged to withdraw, as A'lawáte had pretended that he could only communicate his message from the officer sent from Hamda-Alláhi to El Bakáy himself, I returned home; but, long after midnight, I received a visit from the latter, who came to inform me that Férreji had brought nothing but

favourable letters from Hamda-Alláhí, having written, as he said, the threatening letter from Kábara merely at the instigation of the Saheliye, or merchants from Morocco; and that he himself, on his part, had assured Férreji that, if Sheikho A'hmedu left me alone, I should be forwarded on my home journey after a short delay; but adding, that the Fúlbe ought to assist him from the public revenue, in order to hasten my departure.

The same day I witnessed an interesting episode in the private life of these people. The Sheikh's mother-in-law having died, he went to pray for her soul at the "ródha," or sepulchre, of Sídi Mukhtár, a sacred locality a few hundred yards on the east side of the town, which in my career in this place was to become of greater importance to me. Such is the reverence which these Arabs have for the female portion of their tribe. There are, moreover, several women famed for the holiness of their life, and even authoresses of well-digested religious tracts, among the tribe of the Kunta.

Political circumstances were not quite so favourable as my host wanted to represent them to me; as, like many other people, he was not very particular, when endeavouring to obtain a good object, about saying things that were not quite true: and the following day, when Férreji paid a visit to the Sheikh, he designated me as a war-chief and a "me-hárebi," or freebooter, who ought not to be allowed to remain any longer in the town. Altogether it was fortunate that El Bakáy had provided for the worst

by sending for the Kel-úlli, who arrived in the course of the afternoon, about sixty strong, with great military demonstrations and beating of shields. It was on this occasion that I first made the acquaintance of this warlike tribe, who, notwithstanding their degraded position as Imghád, have made themselves conspicuous by totally annihilating the formerly powerful tribe of the I'gelád and I'medídderen, who in former times ruled over Timbúktu and were hostile to the Kunta. The Kél-úlli are distinguished among all the tribes of the neighbourhood by three qualities which, to the European, would scarcely seem possible to be united in the same person, but which are not unfrequently found combined in the Arab tribes, viz. "réjela," or valour; "síрге," or thievishness; and "dhiyáfa," or generous hospitality.

## CHAP. LXXII.

GREAT CRISIS.—OBLIGED TO LEAVE THE TOWN.—MILITARY  
DEMONSTRATION.

THERE was now a fair opportunity offered me of leaving the town in an honourable way, under the protection of the friendly Kél-úlli, who for this very purpose had brought with them from the encampment my four camels; but the Sheikh missed this favourable occasion, by relying too much upon the promised arrival of the great Tawárek chief Alkút-tabu. As for our friends the Tademékket, to whom A'hmed Wádáwi, the learned follower of the Sheikh, had been sent as a messenger, they did not come along with him, but sent word that they would follow him as soon as their presence was required; their chief A'wáb having gone to raise tribute from the degraded tribe of the Idélebó.

Uncertain as my situation was under these circumstances, I felt cheered by the not very improbable chance of my departure; for at length the last cause which had delayed me so long seemed to be removed, by El Bakáy's wife giving birth to a child on the 4th of March. All political as well as

domestic circumstances therefore seemed to conspire in rendering it possible for him to accompany me for the distance of some days; and he had really assured me the night before, when I was engaged in a consultation with him till near morning, that I should leave on the following Tuesday; but, having had too much insight into his dilatory character, I told him very plainly that I did not believe a word of it, as he had disappointed me so often. And I had reason to be satisfied with my scepticism, as the phantom of the "tábu," or the great army of the Tawárek, with whose assistance he hoped to triumph over his enemies, did not allow him to adhere to any fixed plan. Now the "tábu" was really approaching; and it was merely some unforeseen circumstance, probably owing in part to the machinations of the party publicly or secretly opposed to the authority of the Sheikh, which prevented the great chief of all those westerly Tawárek from reaching Timbúktu, and crowning all the hopes and wishes of my protector.

It was in the afternoon of the 5th that we received undoubted news of the approach of the tábu, the shepherds seeking to secure their flocks by flight, and all those who had reason to fear the wrath or anger of their mighty liege lord endeavouring to reach the islands and creeks of the river as a place of safety. A messenger who arrived from Bamba, stated that the tábu had really reached the town of E'gedesh, a few miles beyond Bamba; nay, even the state of the atmosphere seemed to confirm the news of the

approach of a numerous host, as it was entirely enveloped in thick clouds of dust. But the Sheikh was a little too rash in sending, on the 6th, a message to El Férreji, giving him official information of the arrival of Alkúttabu. That officer answered, in a manly way, that he must not think of frightening him, and that he himself, if necessary, was fully able to summon an army from Fermágha and from Dár e' Salám, the capital of the province of Jimbálla on the other side of the river; that he had come to drive me out of the town, and that he would at any cost achieve his purpose; and although the Sheikh's rival, Hammádi, seemed to be frightened, and came to sue for peace, yet Sídi Mohammed was wearied with his brother's continual procrastination, and from that day forward did all in his power to make me leave the town under any condition, and banish me to the tents.

There is no doubt that, in the event of the "tábu" not arriving, the Sheikh's situation became more dangerous in consequence of the arrival of his brother 'Abidín, who entered the town amidst a demonstration of firing and music on the afternoon of the 7th. All the three brothers went out on horseback to meet him; but this man, who was bent upon following a policy entirely opposed to that of El Bakáy, took up his quarters with Hammádi, the adversary of the latter. Even the eldest brother was so little satisfied with the Sheikh's present policy, that, when I called upon him about midnight

of that same day, a very serious conversation arose between the two brothers, Sidi Mohammed asking El Bakáy whether they were to fight the Fullán on account of a single individual, and one too of a foreign religion ; and reproaching him at the same time with the fact, that his preparations did not advance, while on his part he did not think any preparations were necessary at all, as he was sure that not even the tribe of the Igwádaren, who are settled near Bamba, would do me any harm. But the Sheikh endeavoured to gain time, by telling his brother that he would send the following day for the horses from Kábara, and that he would write a letter to some chiefs on the road through whose territory I had to pass.

Having been a quiet spectator of this dispute I returned to my quarters, and in order to provide against any accident I packed up the remainder of my luggage, and made everything ready for starting. Meanwhile, Sidi Mohammed and A'lawáte, in order to further their plans, had the same afternoon an appointment with 'Abidín and Hammádi, where they probably determined as to the course to be pursued with regard to me : and El Bakáy, who went the same evening to pay a visit to 'Abidín, seemed to have given a kind of half promise that I should leave in the afternoon of the 10th. But having obtained a short respite, in the course of the following day, he delayed my departure from day to day, expecting all the time the arrival of Alkúttabu.

Meanwhile, Sídí Mohammed had made a serious attack upon my religion, and called me always a káfir. But I told him that I was a real Moslim, the pure Islám, the true worship of the one God, dating from the time of Adam, and not from the time of Mohammed; and that thus, while adhering to the principle of the unity, and the most spiritual and sublime nature, of the Divine Being, I was a Moslim, professing the real Islám, although not adopting the worldly statutes of Mohammed, who, in everything that contained a general truth, only followed the principles established long before his time. I likewise added, that even they themselves regarded Plato and Aristotle as Moslemín, and that thus I myself was to be regarded as a Moslim, in a much stricter sense than these two pagan philosophers. I concluded by stating that the greater part of those who called themselves Moslemín did not deserve that name at all, but ought rather to be called Mohammedán, such as we named them, because they had raised their prophet above the Deity itself.

Being rather irritated and exasperated by the frequent attacks of Sídí Mohammed and A'lawáte, I delivered my speech with great fervour and animation; and when I had concluded, Sídí Mohammed, who could not deny that the Kurán itself states that Islám dates from the creation of mankind, was not able to say a word in his defence. As for El Bakáy, he was greatly delighted at this clear exposition of my re-



ligious principles, but his younger brother, who certainly possessed a considerable degree of knowledge in religious matters, stated, in opposition to my argument, that the Caliphs, El Harún and Mámún, who had the books of Plato and Aristotle translated into Arabic, were Metázila, that is to say, heretics, and not true Moslemín; but this assertion of course I did not admit, although much might be said in favour of my opponent. At all events, I had obtained some respite from the attacks of my friends; and having thus the support of them all, in the afternoon of the following day, the 10th of March, we went quietly to the tents in order to celebrate the "Sebúwa" (corresponding to the baptism of the Christians) of the newborn child. On this occasion I noticed that the water in the outlying creeks which we passed had only fallen about three feet since the 17th of February, which is less than two inches per day; but it is probable that the water of the principal branch decreases more rapidly than that of these winding backwaters.

The camp was full of animation, the Gwanín el Kohol, a section of the Bérabísh, having taken refuge in the encampment of the Sheikh from fear of the Kél-hekíkan, with whom they were on hostile terms. It was highly interesting for me to be thus brought into close contact with these people, who owe allegiance to the chief that had murdered Major Laing; and well aware that I could not fail to entertain a strong prejudice against them, they all thronged round me on my arrival, and hastened to

assure me of their friendly disposition. They were armed with double-barreled guns, a weapon which, owing to the trade with the French, is now common through the whole of this part of the desert, the long single-barreled gun, the only favourite weapon with the Arabs to the north, being here regarded with contempt as befitting only the slave. In general, the people were of middle stature, although some of them were fine tall men and of a warlike and energetic appearance, having their shirts, mostly of a light blue colour, tied up over their shoulder and girt round the waist with a belt, the powderhorn hanging over the shoulder, quite in the same style as is the custom of their brethren nearer the shores of the Atlantic. Their head was uncovered, with the exception of their own rich black hair, or guffa, which, I am sorry to add, was full of vermin.

The same evening, although it was late, my host, who was certainly not wanting in hospitality, slaughtered five oxen, and in consequence we partook of supper about an hour after midnight. But that was not at all unusual here; and nothing during my stay in Timbúktu was more annoying to me, and more injurious to my health, than this unnatural mode of living, which surpasses in absurdity the late hours of London and Paris.

Early the next morning two more head of cattle were slaughtered, and enormous quantities of rice and meat were cooked for the great numbers of guests, who had flocked here together from the town and

from all parts of the neighbouring district. Amidst such feasting the name of Mohammed was given to the new-born infant. The way in which the guests dealt with the enormous dishes, some of which were from four to five feet in diameter, and could only be carried by six persons, bore testimony to the voracity of their appetites; one of these immense dishes was upset, and the whole of the contents spilt in the sand.

But the people were not long left to enjoy their festivity, for just while they were glutting themselves a troop of Kél-hekikan, the tribe who waged the bloody feud with the Gwanín, passed by, throwing the whole encampment into the utmost confusion. When at length it had again settled down, the festivities proceeded, and Mohammed el 'Aish, with some of his countrymen from Tawát, rode a race up the slope of the downs towards the tents, firing their guns at the same time; but altogether the exhibition was rather shabby, and some of the men were very poor riders, having probably never been on horseback before, as they were natives of the desert where the camel prevails. The inhabitants of Timbúktu, who possess horses, are continually pestered with the request to lend them to strangers; and, with regard to these animals, a sort of communism prevails in the town; but they are of a very poor description, only the Sheikh himself possessing some good horses, brought from the Gibleh, or Western quarter of the desert.

The Kél-hekikan formed also a subject of anxiety

to us in the evening, and, after a long and tedious consultation, it was decided to send some people to watch the movements of those freebooters. Having been met with, they declared they should feel satisfied if the Sheikh would consent to deliver up to them the person who had first slain one of their companions, for this had been the beginning of the feud with the Gwanín, although the murderer belonged to the Túr-mus, and not to that other tribe which had taken up the quarrel. In consequence of these feudal relations I had an interesting conversation with the Sheikh, and Fandaghúmme, one of the chiefs of the Tademékket who had likewise come to join this festival, about the "fedá," or the price of blood, many of the Tawárek tribes refusing to accept any fedá, but peremptorily requiring bloodshed. I have already mentioned these freebooters, the Kél-hekikan, on a former occasion; and it is remarkable, that this very tribe, which at present is most distinguished by its lawless and sanguinary habits, and which in consequence of the almost uninterrupted state of warfare in which they are engaged, was at the time reduced to about forty full-grown men, exhibits the finest specimens of manly vigour and stately appearance which are to be found in this whole region.

Notwithstanding the importance which the day possessed for my protector, the stay in the camp, deprived as I was of books or any other source of amusement, and of even the smallest European comfort, became more and more tedious to me. My

material privations also were not few, especially as I had not even taken coffee with me this time, so that I had nothing to refresh myself with in the early part of the morning. However, I tried to pass my time as cheerfully as possible, and took some interest in the appearance of a man who had likewise come out to enjoy the hospitality of the Sheikh. This was the sherif Múláy Isay, who, on account of his white skin, was almost suspected by the natives to be of European origin. In the course of the day the Sheikh showed me some rich gold trinkets belonging to his wife, manufactured in Waláta; and this was almost the only time that I had an opportunity of inspecting these gold ornaments. They formed a sort of diadem: and I understood my host to say that he wanted to have a similar one made for Queen Victoria, which, however poor in itself, I assured him would be valued by the English as a specimen of their native industry.

The stay in this place became the more disagreeable, as a high wind raised thick clouds of dust, and the leathern tent, in which Fandaghúmme was staying, was blown down, and I was therefore rather glad when, in the evening of the 13th, we returned into the town. Here, again, the news of the arrival of the "tábu" was a second time reported, and everybody again thrown into a state of excitement; the Ergágeda, a tribe of Arabs or Moors, moving to and fro, while all the poor degraded tribes in the neighbourhood, together with their herds of cattle and their flocks of sheep, fled again for refuge to the en-

campment of the Sheikh, such as the Kél e' Sheriá, the Kél-antsár, the I'denán, and the Kél-úlli. My protector himself was again to return to the tents on the morning of the 15th, when a serious business arose, the Fullán insisting with great pertinacity that I should leave the town this day, or else they would certainly kill me; for they would rather, they said, that the "tábu" should annihilate them all, than that I should remain a day longer in the town.

Next morning the Fullán and the merchants from the north assembled in the house of Mohammed el Férreji, and discussed with great energy what means they should adopt to drive me out, binding themselves by an oath that I should not see the sun set over the town. The officer Hámedu, the son of Mohammed Lebbo, even went so far as to rise in the assembly and swear that he himself would certainly slay me if I should stay any longer. The alarm which this affair caused in the town was very great, although matters of this kind in Negroland are never so serious as in Europe. A'lawáte, therefore, being informed of what was going on, entered the assembly and made a formal protest that I should see both sunset and sunrise in the town, but he pledged his word that I should leave it before the sun reached that height called dáhhar (about nine o'clock in the morning) by the Arabs, and if I remained after that time they might do what they pleased with me.

I had lain down rather late, and was still asleep, when Sídi Mohammed, before

March 17th.

sunrise, sent word to me to mount in order to follow him out of the town; and he behaved very unpolitely when objections were raised to the effect that it would be better to wait for El Bakáy. Soon after he came up himself on horseback before my door, sending one of his brother's principal and confidential pupils, whom I could scarcely expect to do anything contrary to the wishes of his master, to bid me mount without further delay, and to follow him to the "ródha," or the sepulchre of Sídi Mukhtár, where El Bakáy would join us. Seeing that I had nothing to say, while as a stranger I could neither expect nor desire these people to fight on my account, I mounted, fully armed, and with two servants on horseback followed Sídi Mohammed on his white mare.

All the people, in the streets through which we passed, cautiously opened their doors to have a peep at me. The ruling tribe also were not inactive; and they had mounted several horsemen, who followed close upon our heels, and would probably have made a demonstration if we had halted at the "ródha." But my conductor, instead of staying there, as I had been made to believe, led on straight to the tents. Numbers of Tawárek families, carrying their little property on half-starved asses, met us on the road, flying westward, and confirming the fact that the approach of the tábu was not merely an idle rumour. The encampment also, which had been chosen at another spot, presented a very animated scene, a

large hamlet, consisting of matting dwellings, or *seníha*, inhabited by the Kél-úlli and the I'gelád, *protégés* of the Sheikh, being closely attached to it. The consequence was, that although the whole locality, formed by a sandy ridge with a slight depression full of trees, presented a more cheerful aspect than the former encampment, by degrees it became rather narrow and confined. Having received the compliments of my new friends, I endeavoured to make myself as comfortable as possible; but not much repose was granted me, for, about three o'clock in the afternoon, Mohammed ben Khottár, the Sheikh's nephew, arrived with a verbal and peremptory message from the former to his elder brother, Sídi Mohammed, to the effect that the Fullán were about to storm my house in the town, in order to seize my luggage which I had left there; and desiring him instantly, and without the slightest delay, to bring me back, as all these proceedings were the consequence of his (Sídi Mohammed's) indiscretion.

Roused by this angry message, the noble son of the desert repented what he had done to the detriment of his brother's interest, and calling together by strokes of the *tobl*, or great drum, which hung ready on the top of the sandy slope, all the people capable of carrying arms, he mounted his mare, with his four-barreled gun before him, while I, with my two servants, followed behind.

Thus it appeared as if I was destined once more to enter Timbúktú, and this time under very war-



like circumstances. We went at the beginning at such a rate, that it seemed as if we were about to storm the place directly; but on reaching the first creek of the river we made a short halt, while my Mohammedan friends said their prayers, and at last came to a stand on an eminence, whence we sent a messenger in advance. Sídi A'lawáte came out of the town to meet us. Meanwhile darkness set in, and we again halted on another eminence in sight of the town, and sent a second messenger to the Sheikh. We were joined after a while by the people from Tawát, who informed us that El Bakáy had left the town with a numerous host of followers, but that they themselves did not know whither he was gone. Messengers were therefore despatched to endeavour to find him.

In the meanwhile the Tawárek whom we had with us, beat their shields in their usual furious manner, and raised the war-cry; the night was very dark, and I at length fired a shot, which informed our friends of our whereabouts. We found the Sheikh close to the town south of the "ródha," with a large host of people, Tawárek as well as Arabs, Songhay, and even Fullán. The Fútáwi, Ismáíl, who from his knowledge of colonial life in St. Louis or Ndér, afforded me a constant source of entertainment as well as vexation, welcomed us with a song, and all the people gathered around us in motley confusion. The spectacle formed by this multifarious host, thronging among the sand-hills in the pale

moonlight, was highly interesting, and would have been more so to me, if I could have been a tranquil observer of the scene ; but, as I was the chief cause of this disturbance, several of my friends, especially the Imám, Háj el Mukhtár, whom I had known in Bornú, made their way to me, and begged me to beware of treachery. The Sheikh himself despatched his most trustworthy servant to inform me that I had better keep in the midst of the Tawárek, whom he himself thought much more trustworthy than the Arabs. The Kél-úlli forthwith formed a square round me, but at the same time made a joke of it, trying an experiment as to the warlike disposition of my horse, by pushing against me with one side of the square, while beating their shields, till, being thrown back upon the other side, I spurred my horse and drove them to their former position. Excited by this animated scene, my noble charger, to the great amusement of this turbulent host, began to neigh from sheer delight.

Meanwhile the brothers had dismounted, together with their trusty councillors, and were wasting the time in useless consultation, while some Fullán horsemen were roving about and kept me on my guard ; but one of them was dismounted against his inclination. His horse received a wound either from the stump of a tree or from a spear, and thus he remained the sole victim of this glorious and memorable night's campaign.

At length, having moved to and fro for some time,

we approached the outskirts of the A'beraz, and there took up our position. But the Fullán and Songhay, who had likewise assembled at the beating of the alarm drum, being arranged in front of us, notwithstanding their cowardly disposition, it did not seem likely that we should be allowed to get inside the town without bloodshed, and I protested repeatedly to the Sheikh, that nothing was more repugnant to my feelings, than that blood should be shed on my account, and perhaps his own life be endangered.

Meanwhile numerous messengers were sent backwards and forwards, till my protector and host, whose feelings had been deeply wounded, declared that he would allow me to remain outside the town, if the Fullán would withdraw their force so as to put every thing in his own hands, and would promise to leave my house untouched. And he strictly kept his word; for, while he himself entered the place with A'lawáte, he allowed me to return to the tents in the company of his elder brother. We did not arrive at the encampment before three o'clock in the morning, for we lost our road in the pale moonlight, and became entangled among the numerous creeks of Bosc-bángo, while we suffered at the same time greatly from hunger, and the coolness of the night. Such was the sole result of this night's campaign.

The following day we received the news from an Urághen, who arrived from the east, of the tábu having returned eastward, in consequence of a serious quarrel having broken out between the tribes of the

Tarabanása and the Tin-ger-égedesh, who composed part of the army; and in consequence of the obstinacy of A'khbi, the chief of the Igwádaren, who had refused to acknowledge the authority of his liege lord, and to come forth from his place of retreat, the island of Kúrkózáy, in order to do homage to Alkúttabu. The ruling tribe of the Awelímmeden gave vent to their anger by plundering the poor inhabitants of Bamba, or Kasbah, a place situated about half-way between here and Gógó. That dreaded host having retraced its steps, and thus disappointed the hopes of my protector, all the poor people who had put themselves under the protection of the Sheikh felt reassured, and again brought out their little property, which they had secreted in the various tents of the encampment. The I'gelád lagged a little longer behind, and in the evening assembled in considerable numbers before my tent in order to have a talk with me. On the whole they behaved very decently.

Seeing that I was now restricted to a stay in the encampment, I had sent my servant, the Gatróni, into the town in order to bring out my luggage. He returned in the evening without having accomplished his errand, but in the company of the Sheikh himself, who informed me that he did not wish the luggage to be brought out of the town before he was ready to accompany me himself on my journey, as he was afraid that his two brothers still wanted to get something more out of me than they had done. But as he had sworn in the first paroxysm of anger that he

would at all hazards bring me back into the town, I told him, in order to console him, that I would once more re-enter the place in the dark, quite by myself, stay a short time in my house, and then return to the camp, in order that his oath might be fulfilled. But he would not allow me to expose myself to any danger on his account, as the rules of his creed made it easy for him to get rid of the obligation thus contracted against his conscience, by subjecting himself to the penance of a three days' fast. He informed me now that the Fullán officer, Férreji, had accompanied him on leaving the town as far as the "ródha," giving him every assurance of his friendship, and that thus everything would end well; and he hoped to obtain for me favourable conditions from the Fullán for any future European or Englishman visiting this place. Together with the Sheikh, Sidi A'lawáte also had come out, and he behaved in a rather friendly manner to me, offering his services towards hastening my departure, which I gladly accepted, without however putting any confidence in him; for I was well aware that he liked my property better than myself.

Seeing that I was obliged to resign myself in patience, and had still to wait here some time, I sent one servant and two of my horses into the town. Since the waters had retired, the flies had become such a terrible plague, that they threatened the life of man and beast, and it was chiefly this nuisance that rendered my stay here so uncomfortable. It was likewise almost the ruin of the horse, which I was

obliged to keep with me in case of any emergency. It is on account of this pest that none of the people of the desert, whose chief property consists in camels, are enabled to visit the town at this period of the year.

Not only flies, but other species of insects also, became now exceedingly abundant in this desert tract, after it had been inundated and fertilised by the waters of the river; and a countless number of caterpillars especially became very troublesome, creeping about the ground, and getting upon the carpets and mats and every other article. While thus the inconvenience of the open camp was manifold, my amusements were rather limited, and even my food was poorer than it had been before. The famous "rejîre" had been supplanted, from want of cheese, by the less tasteful "dakno," seasoned, in the absence of honey, with the fruit of the baobab or monkey-bread tree. In the morning, however, it afforded me some amusement to observe the daughters of the I'gelád driving out to the pasture grounds their parents' asses, and to witness the various incidents in the daily life of these people. But they were soon to leave, as well as the Kél-úlli, both tribes returning to their quarters further eastward.

All my friends, with whom I had had only so short an acquaintance, thus taking leave of me, I was extremely glad when a brother of Mohammed ben 'Abd-Alláhi came out of the town and paid me a visit. It was from this man, whose name was Dáúd,

that I obtained a great deal of important information with respect to the quarter north of the river, between Hamda-Alláhi and Bághena. I also met here another person, who gave me a curious piece of information with regard to the Rás el Má, the great north-westerly creek of the river, which I have already mentioned repeatedly, and of which I shall say more in the Appendix\*, although I was not enabled to understand its whole purport. In reference to that basin, he said, that, when the waters had decreased very considerably, a bubbling was observed at the bottom of the basin; but whether this referred to sources of living water, or to some other phenomenon, I could not make out distinctly, although I imagine the former to be the case.

March 21st.

This was a very important day in various respects. First, it was highly remarkable for its atmospheric character, as beginning the "nisán," that is to say, the short rainy season of spring. This peculiar season I had not observed in the other more southerly parts of Negroland which I had visited, but it is also observed in other tropical regions, especially in Bengal, although that country is certainly placed under different conditions, and reaches farther northward. We had two regular falls of rain this day, although of no great abundance, this phenomenon being repeated for about seven days, though not in

\* Appendix I., which contains all that I know about the western half of the desert between Timbúktu and the Atlantic.

succession. Meanwhile the flies became quite insupportable, and almost drove me to despair.

But the day was also important in another respect, as the sons of Sídi Mohammed, El Bakáy, and his brothers, attempted to bring about a friendly understanding among themselves; and I was not a little surprised in the morning of this day, on being informed by Sídi Mohammed, who acted as my guard here, that I was to accompany him back to the "ródha," the venerated cemetery a few hundred yards east of the town, where Sídi Mukhtár lies buried; for it thus seemed as if there was still some prospect of my again coming into collision with the townspeople. Galloping on the road with Dáúd, the brother of 'Abd-Alláhi, who accompanied us, and beating him easily on my fine "Blast of the Desert," as I styled my horse, which was still in tolerable condition, I followed my companion, and we took our post at the southern side of the tomb of the ancestor of the holy family. Although I had passed it repeatedly on former occasions, I never until now inspected it closely. I found it a spacious clay apartment, surrounded by several smaller tombs of people who were desirous of placing themselves under the protection of the spirit of this holy man, even in the other world.

Gradually we were joined by the relations and friends of the Sheikh, A'lawáte appearing first and saluting me in his usual smiling manner; then the sickly Mohammed ben 'Abd-Alláhi, who was regarded



almost as a member of the family; next followed Hammádi, who greeted me and received my compliments in return; then the Sheikh el Bakáy; and, lastly, 'Abidín, whom I had not seen before. He looked rather older than the Sheikh, with expressive sharply cut and manly features, besides a rather fair complexion, fairer than my host. He was clad in a bernús of violet colour, and it appeared remarkable to me that, although I had placed myself exclusively under the protection of his brother, to whom he as well as Hammádi was vehemently opposed, yet he behaved very friendly towards me.

All the parties having assembled, we were regaled with a luncheon, at which I was the first to be helped. The people then having said their prayers of "áser," while I retired behind the sepulchre, in order not to give any offence, we went to a greater distance from the town, in an easterly direction, in order to get out of the way of the people who had come from the town on this occasion, when the various members of the family of Mukhtár sat down upon the ground in a circle, and began a serious private consultation, in order to settle their political affairs; but, although it lasted for more than an hour, it did not seem to lead to the desired end, and broke up abruptly. The Sheikh had endeavoured to persuade me to pass this night in the A'beraz, or the suburb of the town; but this I had refused to do, being afraid of causing another disturbance, and, as he promised that he would come out of the town with my luggage on the Friday

following, I returned with Sîdi-Mohammed to the tents.

Honourably as I was treated on these different occasions in consequence of the great exertions of my protector, yet the Fullán had obtained, throughout the whole affair, a slight advantage in political superiority, and they followed it up without hesitation and delay, by levying a tax of 2000 shells upon each full-grown person, under the pretext that they did not say their Friday prayers in the great mosque as they were ordered to do. This is one of the means by which the conquering tribe was endeavouring to subdue the national spirit of the native population, by making them celebrate the great weekly prayer in the mosque which had originally been built by the Mandingo conqueror Mansa Músa, and which they themselves had made the centre of their establishment in the town. Even in previous times it had always been the centre of the Mohammedan quarter. They were supported in this endeavour by the precepts of Islám, according to which a Moslim, even if he says his ordinary prayers at home, is obliged, when staying in the town and not prevented by disease, to say his Friday prayers in the Jámâ.

When the Fullán conquered the place, they purposely increased the ruin of the old native mosque of Sán-koré, which is situated in the northern quarter, and afterwards prevented its being repaired, till by the exertions of the Sheikh El

Baká, especially on his visit to Hamda-Alláhi some years previously, the inhabitants of the town had been allowed to repair that mosque at their own expense. This had been accomplished at the cost of 600 blocks or rús of salt, equal to about 200*l*.

Besides levying this tax upon the inhabitants in general, they also devised means to subject to a particular punishment the Arab part of the population who had especially countenanced the Sheikh in his opposition against their order to drive me out, by making a domiciliary search through their huts, and taking away some sixty or eighty bales or sunniye of tobacco, an article which, as I have stated on a former occasion, forms a religious and political contraband under the severe and austere rule of the Fúlbe in this quarter.

March 24th.

This was the day on which the Sheikh had promised to bring out my luggage, but, to my great disappointment, he came empty-handed ; and again he had much to say about the expected arrival of Alkúttabu, the chief Somki, it was stated, having been called from A'ribínda to meet his liege lord at Ghérگو (pronounced Rérgو) with fifteen boats. But, as the sequel showed, this was a mere stratagem of that crafty chief, who intended to make an unexpected foray upon his foes the Kél-hekíkan, in which enterprise he was perfectly successful, killing about a dozen of that already greatly reduced tribe. While the Sheikh boasted of the innumerable host which his friend the Tárki chief carried with him,

I was greatly amused at learning from an Urághen, who had come to pay us a visit, that Alkúttabu had only 800 fighting men with him at the time. I also observed with a certain degree of satisfaction that my kindly host became aware of what I was subjected to day by day; for, while on a visit to my tent, one of the flies that tormented me stung him so severely as to draw blood; and I then showed him my poor horse which was suffering dreadfully, although at times we lighted a small fire in order to afford him some relief.

During my stay here, I had become better acquainted with Sídi Mohammed, and I had convinced myself that he was a straightforward man, although certainly not very friendly disposed towards Christians in general. Next morning, therefore, when he and the Sheikh were consulting together, I complained bitterly of their breaking their word so repeatedly, and putting off my departure so continually. They then endeavoured to soothe my disappointment, and, as they were going into the town, wanted me to go along with them, but I declined. In consequence of this remonstrance, they sent me from the town the Sheikh's nephew, who had been ill for several days, to bear me company and to take care of me, and this was a great treat in my solitary situation, as I had nobody to speak to. However, new difficulties appeared to arise with regard to my departure, and, during the next few days, I received several curious messages, the real purport

of which I was quite at a loss to understand. But El Bakáy at length promised that I should only have to wait two days longer, when he would go with me himself; but it was not till the very last day in March that he returned from the town to the camp, and, although he at length brought my luggage with him, my real departure was even then still far remote.

During this time I had especially to contend against the intrigues of my head man 'Alí el A'geren, who seemed to find the stay in Timbúktu at my expense (where he himself was quite safe and well off, and could do what he liked,) quite pleasant and comfortable. He was therefore in no hurry to leave, but rather tried every means in his power to counteract my endeavours for a speedy departure. An extraordinary degree of patience was therefore necessary on my part, and I was obliged to seek relief from the tediousness of my stay here in every little circumstance that broke the uniform tenor of my monotonous life.

A great source of entertainment to me were the young sons of my protector, Bába A'hmed and Zén el 'Abidín, who were continually wrangling about all sorts of articles, whether they belonged to the one or the other; my tent and my horse forming the chief objects of their childish dispute. And I was greatly amused, at times, at the younger boy placing himself at the entrance of my tent, and protesting that it was Zén el 'Abidín's tent, and preventing his elder brother from approaching it. The plate opposite gives a fair











idea of the whole life of this desert camp, with its liberty, its cheerfulness, and its tediousness.

Our camp also afforded me at times some other amusement; for although the Tawárek had returned to their usual seats, the Gwanín were still kept back here by their fear of the Kél-hekíkan, and they occasionally got up a national play, which caused a little diversion. But I did not like these people nearly so well as the wild I'móshagh; for, having become degraded by being subjected to the caprices of stronger tribes, they have almost entirely lost that independent spirit which is so prepossessing in the son of the desert, even though he be the greatest ruffian.

One afternoon they collected round my tent and began boasting of what they had done for me. They told me that the Fullán had written to their Sheikh, Weled 'Abéda, accusing the Gwanín that, in the night when El Bakáy was bringing me back to Timbúktu, they had been fighting against them, and, among other mischief, had killed a horse belonging to them; and that their chief had answered, that his people had done well in defending me, and that nobody should hurt me after I had once succeeded in placing myself under the Sheikh's protection. And this, be it remembered, was the self-same chief who had murdered Major Laing; and one or the other of these very Gwanín, with whom I had dealings every day, were perhaps implicated in that very murder. I was thus led to inquire of these people whether there were no papers remaining of that unfortu-

nate traveller, and was told that they were all scattered or made away with; but I learned, to my great surprise, that there were letters for myself in A'sawád, which had arrived from the east; and although these people were not able, or did not feel inclined, to give me full information about this matter, which was of so much interest to myself, the fact proved afterwards to be quite true; but it was a long time before I got possession of those letters.

Nature now looked more cheerful; and, after the little rain that had fallen, spring seemed to have set in a second time, and the trees were putting forth young leaves. The river having now laid bare a considerable tract of grassy ground, the cattle again found their wonted pasture of rich nourishing "býrgu" on its banks, and were thus able to furnish their masters with a richer supply of milk. This was a great point towards hastening my departure, as the télamid (or pupils of the Sheikh) had reason to expect that they would not be starved on the road. The fact that the tribes which we had to pass on our road eastward were entirely without milk, which forms their chief support, had exercised some influence upon them.

Meanwhile the turbulent state of the country grew worse and worse, since the Awelimmiden had shown such signs of weakness; and the Tin-ger-égedesh were said to have fallen upon the tribe of the Takétakayen settled in A'ribínda, and to have killed six of their number. The chief, Somki, also made at the same time a sanguinary attack upon the Kél-hekíkan; and the state

of feud and hostility among the Igwádaren had reached an extraordinary height, for besides the common animosity which this tribe had displayed against their former liege lord, Alkúttabu, two different factions were opposed to each other in the most bloody feud, one of them being led by A'khpi and Wóghdugu, and the other by Téní, to whom were attached the greater part of the Tarabanása and the Kél-hekíkan.

This chief, Téní, rendered himself particularly odious to the Sheikh's party by keeping back a considerable amount of property belonging to the Gwanín, among which were a dozen slaves, more than fifty asses, and three hundred and sixty sheep. A very noisy assembly was held, in the evening of the 1st of April, inside my "zeríba," or fence of thorny bushes with which I had fortified my little encampment, in front of my tent. All the Gwanín assembled round my fire, and proposed various measures for arranging their affairs and for subduing the obstinate old Téní. One speaker was particularly distinguished by the cleverness of his address and his droll expressions, although I thought the latter rather too funny for a serious consultation. However, this man was not a Berbúshi, but an I'do 'Alí, and therefore could not present a fair specimen of the capabilities of this tribe.

This same chief, Téní, was also the cause of some anxiety to myself, as it was he who, as I have stated on a former occasion, when a young man, was wounded in the leg by Mungo Park; and I was therefore rather

afraid that he might take an opportunity of revenging himself upon me. There is no doubt that, in the murderous assault upon Major Laing in Wádi Ahén-net, the Tawárek were partly instigated by a feeling of revenge for the heavy loss inflicted upon them by Mungo Park in his voyage down the Niger. At this very moment the dreaded chief, with part of his people, was here in the neighbourhood, and caused great anxiety to Míni, a younger brother of Wógh-dugu, one of the chiefs of the Tarabanása, who had come on a visit to the Sheikh. Our frightened friend, in consequence, was rambling about the whole day on the fine black horse which my host had made me a present of, in order to spy out the movements of his enemy. He even wanted me to exchange my horse for two camels, in order that he might make his escape.

This man, who was an amiable and intelligent sort of person, gave me a fair specimen of what trouble I should have in making my way through those numerous tribes of Tawárek along the river; for, when he begged a present from me, I thought a common blue shirt, or "rishába," of which kind I had prepared about a dozen, quite sufficient for him, as I had had no dealings whatever with him, and was under no obligation to him; but he returned it to me with the greatest contempt, as unworthy of his dignity.

My supplies at this time were greatly reduced, and in order to obtain a small amount of shells I was obliged to sell a broken musket belonging to me.

Under all these circumstances I was extremely glad

when, in the evening of the 3rd of April, the provision bags of the Sheikh, of which I was assured the half was destined for my own use, were brought out of the town. But, nevertheless, the final arrangements for my departure were by no means settled, and the following day everything seemed again more uncertain than ever, the kádhi, Weled F'aámme, having arrived with another body of sixty armed men, and with fresh orders to levy contributions of money upon the inhabitants, in order to make them feel the superiority of the ruler of Hamda-Alláhi. At the same time the people from Tawát set all sorts of intrigues afoot, in order to prevent the Sheikh from leaving the town, being afraid that in his absence they should be exposed to continual vexation on the part of the ruling tribe; for although the Sheikho A'hmedu, in sending presents to Timbúktu, had not neglected El Bakáy, yet he had shown his preference for Hammádi, the rival of the latter, in so decided a manner, that my friend could not expect that in leaving the town his interests would be respected\*; and I had to employ the whole of my influence with the Sheikh in order to prevent him from changing his plan.

But, gradually, everything that my host was to take with him on such a journey, consisting of books and provisions, was brought from the town, so that it really looked as if El Bakáy was to go himself.

\* The present sent by the Sheikho A'hmedu consisted of 800 measures of corn to El Bakáy, and as much to Hammádi, besides ten slaves to the latter.

His horses had been brought from Kábára on the 9th, and several people, who were to accompany us on our journey eastward, having joined us the following day, the Sheikh himself arrived on the 11th, and our encampment became full of bustle. My own little camping-ground also was now enlivened with all my people, who had come to join me; and my small store of books, which had been brought from the town, enabled me to give more variety to my entertainment.

A rather disagreeable incident now occurred. The Zoghorán officer, the companion of Férreji, had come out on some errand, while I was staying with the three brothers in the large tent, which had been erected for Sídi Mohammed. I wanted to leave, but Bakáy begged me to stay. I therefore remained a short time, but became so disgusted with the insulting language of the Zoghorán, that I soon left abruptly, although his remarks had more direct reference to the French, or, rather, the French and half-caste traders on the Senegal, than to the English or any other European nation. He spoke of the Christians in the most contemptuous manner, describing them as sitting like women in the bottom of their steamboats, and doing nothing but eating raw eggs: concluding with the paradoxical statement, which is not very flattering to Europeans, that the idolatrous Bámbára were far better people, and much farther advanced in civilisation than the Christians. It is singular how the idea that the Europeans

are fond of raw eggs (a most disgusting article to a Mahommedan), as already proved by the experience of Mungo Park, has spread over the whole of Negroland, and it can only be partially explained by the great predilection which the French have for boiled eggs.

Altogether my situation required an extraordinary amount of forbearance, for A'lawáte also troubled me again with his begging propensities. But when he came himself to take leave of me, I told him that the time for presents was now past; whereupon he said, that he was aware that if I wanted to give I gave, meaning that it was only the want of goodwill that made me not comply with his wish. I assured him that I had given him a great many presents against my own inclination. He owned that he had driven a rather hard bargain with me, but, when he wanted me to acknowledge at least that he had done me no personal harm, I told him that the reason was rather his want of power than his want of inclination, and that, although I had nothing to object to him in other respects, I should not like to trust myself in his hands alone in the wilderness.

The difficulties which a place like Timbúktu presents to a free commercial intercourse with Europeans are very great. For while the remarkable situation of the town, at the edge of the desert and on the border of various races, in the present degenerated condition of the native kingdoms makes a strong government very difficult, nay almost im-



possible, its distance from either the west coast or the mouth of the Niger is very considerable. But, on the other hand, the great importance of its situation at the northern curve or elbow of that majestic river, which, in an immense sweep encompasses the whole southern half of North-Central Africa, including countries densely populated and of the greatest productive capabilities, renders it most desirable to open it to European commerce, while the river itself affords immense facilities for such a purpose. For, although the town is nearer to the French settlements in Algeria on the one side, and those on the Senegal on the other, yet it is separated from the former by a tract of frightful desert, while between it and the Senegal lies an elevated tract of country, nay, along the nearest road, a mountain chain extends of tolerable height. Further, we have here a family which, long before the French commenced their conquest of Algeria, exhibited their friendly feelings toward the English in an unquestionable manner, and at the present moment the most distinguished member of this family is most anxious to open free intercourse with the English. Even in the event of the greatest success of the French policy in Africa, they will never effect the conquest of this region. On the other hand, if a liberal government were secured to Timbúktu, by establishing a ruler independent of the Fúlbe of Hamda-Alláhi, who are strongly opposed to all intercourse with Europeans, whether French or English,

an immense field might be opened to European commerce, and thus the whole of this part of the world might again be subjected to a wholesome organization. The sequel of my narrative will show how, under the protection of the Sheikh El Bakáy, I endeavoured to open the track along the Niger.

## CHAP. LXXIII.

### ABORTIVE ATTEMPT AT DEPARTURE FROM TIMBÚKTU.

I HAD been obliged to leave the town on the 17th of March, in consequence of the brothers of the Sheikh having deemed such a step essential for the security of the town, and advantageous to their own personal interest. Since that time my departure had been earnestly discussed almost daily, but nevertheless, amidst infinite delays and procrastinations, the 19th of April had arrived before we at length set out from our encampment, situated at the head of the remarkable and highly indented creek of Bóse-bángo.

Notwithstanding the importance of the day, my excellent friend the Sheikh El Bakáy could not even then overcome his habitual custom of taking matters easy. He slept till a late hour in the morning, while his pupils were disputing with the owners of the camels which had been hired for the journey, and who would not stir. At length my friend got up, and our sluggish caravan left the encampment. There were, besides our own camels, a good many asses belonging to the Gwanín, and laden with cotton

strips. It was past eleven o'clock,\* and the sun had already become very troublesome, when we left the camp. The chief was so extremely fond of his wife and children, that it was an affair of some importance to take leave of them. I myself had become sincerely attached to his little boys, especially the youngest one, Zén el 'Abidín, who, I am led to hope, will remember his friend 'Abd el Kerím. But, notwithstanding my discontent at my protector's want of energy, I could not be angry with him; and when he asked me whether he had now deceived me, or kept his word, I could not but praise his conduct, although I told him that I must first see the end of it. He smiled, and turning to his companion the old Haiballah (Habíb Allah), who had come from A'zawád to spend some time in his company, asked him whether I was not too mistrustful; but the event unluckily proved that I was not.

The vegetation in the neighbourhood of Bóse-bángo is extremely rich; but as we advanced gradually the trees ceased, with the exception of the kálgo, the bush so often mentioned by me in Háusa, and which here begins to be very common. I was greatly disappointed in my expectation of making a good day's march, for, after proceeding a little more than three miles, I saw my tent, which had gone in advance, pitched in the neighbourhood of an encampment of Arabs belonging to the tribe of the Ergágeda. Here we stayed the remainder of the day, enjoying the hospitality of these people, who had to pay dearly

for the honour of such a visit; for the pupils of my friend, who had capital appetites, required a great deal of substantial nourishment to satisfy their cravings; and besides a dozen dishes of rice, and a great quantity of milk, two oxen had to be slaughtered by our hosts. These Arabs, who formed here an encampment of about twenty-five spacious tents, made of sheepskins or fárrwel, have no camels, and possess only a few cows, their principal herds being sheep and goats, besides a large number of asses. They have been settled in this district, near the river, since the time when Sidi Mukhtár, the elder brother of El Bakáy, established himself in Timbúktu, that is to say, in the year 1832.

Although I should have liked much better to have made at once a fair start on our journey, I was glad that we had at least set out at all, and, lying down in the shade of a small kálgo tree, I indulged in the hope that in a period of from forty to fifty days I might reach Sókoto; but I had no idea of the unfavourable circumstances which were gathering to frustrate my hopes.

The whole of this district is richly clothed with siwák, or írák (*Capparis sodata*), and is greatly infested with lions, for which reason we were obliged to surround our camping-ground with a thick fence, or zeríba; and the encampment of the Sheikh, for whom an immense leathern tent had been pitched, with his companions, horses, and camels, together with the large fires, presented a very imposing appear-

ance. I was told that the lion hereabouts has no mane, or at least a very small one, like the lion of A'sben.

The first part of this day's march led through <sup>Thursday,</sup> a flat country, which some time before had <sup>April 20th.</sup> been entirely inundated. Even at present, not only on the south side of the path, towards the river, were extensive inundations to be seen, but on the left, or north side, a large open sheet spread out. Having passed numbers of Tawárek, who were shifting their tents, as well as two miserable-looking encampments of the Shémman-A'mmas, whose movements afforded some proofs of the disturbed state of the country, we ascended the higher sandy bank, where I first observed the poisonous *euphorbia*, called here "abári e' sebúwa," or "táboru," which generally grows in the shade of the trees, especially in that of acacias, and is said frequently to cause the death of the lion, from which circumstance its name is derived. Pursuing our easterly course, and keeping along the sandy bank, with a deep marshy ground on our right, we then reached a group of two encampments, one belonging to the I'denan, and the other to the Shémman-A'mmas, and here halted during the hot hours of the day. Both the above-mentioned tribes are of a degraded character; and the women were anything but decent and respectable in their behaviour.

Having here decided that it was better to go ourselves and fetch the rest of our party whom we had sent in advance from Bóse-bángo, instead of despatch-

ing a messenger for them, although the place lay entirely out of our route, we started late in the afternoon, leaving our camels and baggage behind. Returning for the first mile and a half, almost along the same road we had come, then passing the site of a former encampment of the two chiefs named Mush-tába and Rummán, whom I have mentioned before, we entered the swampy ground to the south along a narrow neck of land thickly overgrown with dúmpalms and brushwood, and thus affording a secure retreat to the lion. In the clear light of the evening, encompassed as the scenery was on either side, by high sandy downs towards the south on the side of the river, and by a green grassy ground with a channel-like sheet of water on the other it exhibited a very interesting spectacle highly characteristic of this peculiar watery region.

Having kept along this neck of land, which is called Temáharót, for about two miles, and reached its terminating point, we had to cross a part of the swamp itself which separates this rising ground from the downs on the bank of the river, and which less than a month previously had been impassable, while at present the sheet of water was interrupted, and was only from three to three and a half feet in depth at the deepest part. We then reached the downs, and here again turned westward, having the low swampy ground on our right, and an open branch of the river on our left.

This whole tract of country is of a very peculiar

character, and presents a very different spectacle at various seasons of the year. During the highest state of the inundation, only the loftiest downs rise above the surface of the water like separate islands, and are only accessible by boats during the summer; while the low swampy grounds, laid bare and fertilised by the retiring waters, afford excellent pastures to innumerable herds of cattle. Even at present, while the sun was setting, the whole tract through which we were proceeding along the downs was enveloped in dense clouds of dust, raised by the numerous herds of the Kél-n-Nokúnder, who were returning to their encampment. Here we were most joyfully received by the followers of the Sheikh, who had been waiting already several days for us, and I received especially a most cordial welcome from my young friend Mohammed ben Khottár, the Sheikh's nephew, whom I esteemed greatly on account of his intelligent and chivalrous character. He informed me how anxious they had been on my account, owing to our continued delay. Having brought no tent with me, a large leathern one was pitched, and I was hospitably treated with milk and rice.

The Kél-n-Nokúnder are a division of the numerous tribe of the I'denán, and although in a political respect they do not enjoy the privileges of full liberty and nobility, yet, protected by the Kunta, and the Sheikh El Bakáy in particular, they have succeeded in retaining possession of a considerable number of cattle. All of them are tolba, that is to say, students;



and they are all able to read. Some of them can even write, although the I'denán cannot now boast of men distinguished for great learning as they could in former times.

All these people who come under the category of tolba, are distinguished by their fair complexion, and do not possess the muscular frame common among the free I'móshagh. Their fair complexion is the more conspicuous, as the men, with scarcely an exception, wear white shirts and white turbans. All of them took a great interest in me, and looked with extreme curiosity upon the few European articles which I had with me at the time. After some little delay the next morning we ~~left~~ the place, and at that time I little fancied that I was soon to visit this spot again. It is called Ernésse, or Núkkaba el kebíra, the great (sandy) down.

Having this time excellent guides with us who knew the difficult ground thoroughly, after leaving the sandy downs, we struck right across the swampy meadow grounds, so that we reached our encampment on the other side of Amaléle in a much shorter time than on our out journey, while by continual windings we almost entirely avoided the swamps; but, without a good guide, no one can enter these low lands, which constitute a very remarkable feature in the character of the river. One of the Kél-n-Nokúnder, of the name of Ayóba, whom I had occasionally seen in the town, and who was not less distinguished by his loquacity than by his activity, here

received a small present from me, as well as some of the I'denán, who, during my absence, had treated my people hospitably.

Starting in the afternoon, after a march of about eight miles, at first through a low swampy country, afterwards through a sandy wilderness with an undulating surface and with high sandy downs towards the river, we reached an encampment of Kél-úlli, the same people who had repeatedly protected me during my stay in the town, and, on firing a few shots, we were received by our friends with the warlike demonstration of a loud beating of their shields. The hospitable treatment which they exhibited towards us in the course of the evening really filled me with pity on their account, for, having no rice or milk, they slaughtered not less than three oxen and twenty goats, in order to feast our numerous and hungry party, and make a holiday for themselves. Thus, having arrived after sunset, great part of the night was spent in revelling, and the encampment with the many fires, the numbers of people, horses, and beasts of burden, in the midst of the trees, formed a highly interesting scene.

In the course of the evening I received a visit from my protector. I had promised him another handsome present as soon as he should have fairly entered with me upon my home journey, and he now wanted to know what it was. I informed him that it consisted of a pair of richly ornamented pistols, which I had kept expressly for the occasion : but instead of at once

taking possession of them, he requested me to keep them for him till another time ; for he himself was no doubt fully aware that our journey was not yet fairly begun ; and its abortive character became fully apparent the following day, when, after a march of less than seven miles, we encamped near the tents of Téní, or E' Téní, the first chief of the Tarabanása.

The locality, which is called Téns-aróri, was of so swampy a character that we looked for some time in vain for a tolerably dry spot to pitch our tents, and it had a most unfavourable effect upon my health. Here we remained this and the two following days : and it became evident that as this chief persisted in his disobedience to his liege lord Alkúttabu, the other more powerful chief, A'khbi, whose mutinous behaviour had been the chief reason of the former not coming to Timbúktu, would certainly follow his example. The fact was, that, irritated against their superior chief, or more probably treating him with contempt on account of his youth and want of energy, after the death of his predecessor, E' Nábegha, they had fallen upon his mercenaries, especially the Shémman-A'mmas, and deprived them of their whole stock of cattle.

This was the first time that I saw these more easterly Tawárek in their own territory ; and I was greatly astonished at their superior bearing in comparison with the Tademékket and I'regenáten, both in their countenance and in their dress. They were also richly ornamented with small metal boxes, made

very neatly, and consisting of tin and copper: but it was in vain that I endeavoured to obtain some of them as a curiosity. They wore also a rich profusion of white rings, which are made of the bones of that very remarkable animal the "ayú," or *Manatus*, which seems to be not less frequent in the western than in the eastern branch of the Niger. As a token of their nobility and liberty, all of them carried iron spears and swords, the degraded tribes not being allowed to make use of these manly weapons.

The encampment consisted of about thirty leathern tents, of great size; and, besides the Tarabanása, a party of the Kél-hekíkan of Zílikay were encamped. This was a less favourable circumstance; for, while as yet I had been always on the best footing with these Tawárek, the latter proved rather troublesome: and I got involved in a religious dispute with one of their chiefs named Ayúb, or Sínnefel, against my inclination, which might have done me some harm. On his asking me why we did not pray in the same manner as themselves, I replied that our God did not live in the east, but was everywhere, and that therefore we had no occasion to offer up our prayers in that direction. This answer appeared to satisfy him: but he affected to be horrified when he heard that we did not practise circumcision, and endeavoured to excite the fanatical zeal of the whole camp against me. I, however, succeeded in partly effacing the bad impression thus caused, by making use of a

Biblical expression, and observing that we circumcised our hearts, and not any other part of our body, having expressly abolished that rite, as it appeared to us to be an emblem of the Jewish creed.

I also told them that if they thought that circumcision was a privilege and an emblem of Islám, they were greatly mistaken, as many of the pagan tribes around them, whom they treated with so much contempt, practised this rite. This latter observation especially made a great impression upon them; and they did not fail to remark that I always knew how to parry any attack made against my creed. But, in other respects, I was very cautious in avoiding any dispute, and I was extremely lucky in not having anything to do with an arrogant relative of the Sheikh, of the name of 'Abd e' Rahmán Weled Síd, who had lately come from A'zawád to stay some time with his uncle, and obtain from him some present.

With the small presents which I made to each of the Tarabanása, I got on very well with them; but as for their women, who, as was always the case at these encampments, came in the evening to have a look at me, and, if possible, to obtain a small present, I left them without the least acknowledgment. Among the whole tribe I did not observe one distinguished in any manner by her beauty or becoming manners.

The chief behaved so inhospitably that my companions were almost starved to death, and I had to

treat several of them ; but, in acknowledgment, I received some useful information.\*

At length we left this uncomfortable and unhealthy camping-ground, and had some difficulty in turning round the swamp which is here formed, and further on in traversing a dense forest which almost precluded any progress. Having then passed along a rising sandy ground, we had again to cross a most difficult swampy tract, overgrown with dense forest, which at times obliged us to ascend the high sandy downs that bordered the great river on our right, and afforded a splendid view over the surrounding scenery.

Tuesday,  
April 25th.

Gradually we emerged from the dense forest upon

\* A complete list of all the tribes and sections of the I'móshagh or Tawárek will be given in Appendix II. Here I will communicate the family relations of these chiefs of the Igwádaren, which are of importance for understanding clearly the political state of things in this part of the Niger, and which may be of some use to any future expedition. First, A'khbi, the principal chief of this tribe, is a son of Sálem, son of Hemme, son of Akhéum. His rival is Sadáktu, the nephew of Simsim, who is a son of El A'mmer (the name of Sadáktu's father I do not know), son of Walaswaríslar, son of Akhéum. Associated with A'khbi is El Wóghdugu, a chief of a section of the Tarabanása, a very chivalrous man, and a great friend of the Sheikh El Bakáy, and son of E'g el Henne, son of Mansúr; El Wóghdugu's brothers are Míni, Mohammed, Aníti, and Lubéd. Another chief of the Tarabanása, and a deadly enemy of El Wóghdugu, although allied with A'khbi, is E' Téní son of Agánte, son of Kháwi, son of Mansúr, son of Ag e' Saáde, son of Awédha. E' Téní's sons are : Umbúnge, Imbékke or Bába, Asátíl, and Innósara; sons of a brother of E' Téní are : Babaye and Bubákkeri. Another great man related to E' Téní is U'gast, son of Shét, son of Kháwi.

the green border of a backwater which stretched out behind the sandy downs, which were enlivened by cattle. Marching along this low verdant ground, we reached a place called Taúilt at eleven o'clock. Here Wóghda, the father-in-law of Wóghdugu, had just pitched his tents, and part of his luggage was, at the moment of our arrival, being carried over from the island of Kóra, where the chief Sául had encamped, and the shores of which were enlivened by numerous herds of horned cattle.

Such is the remarkable mode of life adopted by these southern sections of the mysterious veiled rovers of the desert. Totally metamorphosed as they are by the character of the new region of which they have taken possession, they wander about and remove their encampments from one island to the other, and from one shore to the other, swimming their cattle across the river. They have almost renounced the use of the camel, that hardy animal, which afforded their only means of existence in those desert regions which had formerly been their home.

It was a highly interesting camping-ground. This branch of the river, which was about two hundred yards broad, and at present from six to eight feet deep, was enlivened by several boats, together with a good number of cattle, apparently rather averse to entering the water, which in summer usually dries up; the Tawárek busily arranging their little property and pitching their tents, or erecting their little booth-like huts of matting; then behind us the dense forest,

closely enveloped by climbing plants. The principal branch of the river is from two to three miles distant.

We had scarcely arrived, when the cheerful little Wóghda started from his tent with a sudden bound, worthy of a public exhibition, in order to receive his friend the Sheikh El Bakáy. We encamped in the shade of the large trees, close to the border of the water, where we were soon visited by several Songhay people, who inhabit a small hamlet on the island of Kóra, where they cultivate tobacco. This article constituted in former times the chief branch of cultivation all along the river, but at present, since the conquest of the country by the Fúlbe, it has become a contraband article, so that the people from Timbúktu come stealthily hither, in order to buy from these people their produce with cotton strips or tári.

This chief, Wóghda, had been present, when quite a boy, at the attack which the Igwádaren at E'gedesh made upon Mungo Park, whom all the old men along the river know very well, from his large strange-looking boat, with his white sail, his long coat, his straw hat, and large gloves. He had stopped at Bámba in order to buy fowls, of which he appears to have endeavoured to obtain a supply at every large place along the river. Wóghda further asserted that it was on this occasion that the Tawárek killed two of the Christians in the boat; but this seems to be a mistake, as it appears evident that two of the four valiant men, who, solitary and abandoned, in their boat, like a little fortress, navigated this river for so



many hundred miles in the midst of these hostile tribes, were killed much lower down.

The people have plenty of asses, and a sword-blade of the commonest German or Solingen manufacture fetches every where two of these animals, which are sold for at least 6000 shells each in the town. But the more conscientious Arabs do not trade with the Tawárek, whose property they well know, for the greatest part, to be "harám," or forbidden, because taken by violent means.

It had been announced that we were to start in the afternoon, but there was no reason for hurrying our departure, and we quietly encamped here for the night, when we were visited by a great number of the Welád Molúk, whose encampment was at no great distance from ours. They were short, thick-set men, with fair complexions, and expressive prepossessing features, but some of them were suffering dreadfully from a disgusting disease, which they attributed to the bad quality of the water. One or two of them, at least, had their nose and part of their face entirely eaten away by cancers, and formed altogether a horrible spectacle.

Much more agreeable was a visit which I received from the Tawárek chief, Sául, the leader of the Kél-Támuláit, a very stately personage, who remained the greater part of the night with us, engaged in animated conversation with the Sheikh. The following morning, while we were arranging our luggage, he, and another chief of the name of Khasib, came to

pay me their compliments, and sat for a long time near me, in order to observe my habits.

At length we were again on our march, following the windings of the river, which at times spread out to a fine sheet of water, but at others became hid behind sandy downs. On our left we had a well-wooded country, now and then changing into a low swampy ground, and enlivened by guinea-fowls. In this place we met a fine tall Tárki, mounted upon one of the highest "mchára" I had ever seen. It was Wóghdugu, the most valiant of all the southern Tawárek, Awelímmiden, Igwádaren, and Tademékket taken together, and a sincere and faithful friend of the Sheikh El Bakáy. He was a fine, tall, broad-shouldered man, of six feet four or five inches, and evidently possessing immense muscular strength, although he was by no means fat at the time, and even pretended not to be in the enjoyment of good health.

Numerous deeds of valour are related of this man, which remind one of the best age of European or Arab chivalry. He is said, at the time when the Tawárek conquered the town of Gúndam from the Fúlbe, to have jumped from his horse upon the wall of that place, and catching upon his shield the spears of all the enemy who were posted there, to have opened a way for his comrades. A few days before, he had been surprised, when quite alone, by a party of from ten to twelve of his private enemies, the followers of E' Téní, but he succeeded in defend-

ing himself against them, and catching upon his shield all their iron spears, he reached the river, and made good his retreat in a boat.

Led on by this interesting man, and by a brother of his of the name of Mohammed, we soon reached a place named Izéberen, so called from two sandy downs rising from a flat shore, and at times entirely insulated. Inland, a large swampy backwater leaves only a narrow neck of land dry.

## CHAP. LXXIV.

## RETROGRADE MOVEMENT TOWARDS TIMBÚKTU.

THE locality of Izéberen, where we had encamped, was not at all inviting, as it was but scantily provided with trees. Here we gave up our journey eastward, and again commenced our retrograde movement towards Timbúktu. I was now filled with the saddest forebodings; for after three or four days spent in vain dispute between the Sheikh and A'khbi, the chief of the Igwádaren, who was encamped here, the latter persisted in his rebellious conduct against his liege lord Alkúttabu; and, instead of restoring what he had taken from the tribes placed under the protection of the latter, he made up his mind to follow the instigations of the Sheikh's enemy and rival, Hammádi, and to throw himself into the arms of the Fúlbe and of the chief of Hamda-Alláhi. He thus caused an immense disturbance in this whole region; and in fact a bloody war broke out soon after my safe departure.

The encampment at Izéberen, to which this sad remembrance attaches, was tolerably enlivened with some interesting people, including as well some kins-

men of A'khbi, as more especially the sons of E'g el Henne, Wóghdugu, and his brethren, Mohammed, Aníti, and Míni, all of whom are of a very cheerful disposition, and (as far as it is possible for a Tárki to be so) even amiable men. Among the former there was a boy named Kúngu, whose arrogance at first was a little troublesome, but eventually he became one of my best friends, and even now occupies a foremost place in my remembrance. He was a nephew of A'khbi's, and his father had been distinguished for his valour and warlike enterprise, but had been killed in battle at an early age, like most of the kinsfolk of this chief, so that the boy was brought up and educated by his mother, Tatináta, who was a daughter of A'wáb, the chief of the Tademékket whom I have repeatedly mentioned on former occasions.

A'khbi himself was a man of about forty years of age, good-looking, but of an overbearing character. His father, Sálem, who had died a few months before at a very advanced age, had been distinguished by his intelligence, while A'khbi, as soon as he acceded to power, had broken his allegiance to his liege lord, and entered into open hostilities with him. He had allowed his own small tribe, which scarcely numbered more than two hundred fighting men, to be divided into two hostile encampments, and in consequence of that feud had sustained a very heavy loss amongst his own followers. His quarrel with Alkúttabu was evidently a consequence of the intrigues of the Fúlbe

and Hammádi, who, seeing that the political power of the Sheikh El Bakáy was based upon his friendship with the chief of the Awelímmiden, used all his endeavours to raise up an adversary to the latter; and the progress of this struggle, of which I did not see the end, may have been productive of great changes in the political relations of Timbúktu.

The endeavour to preserve the unity of the whole tribe of the Awelímmiden, which my protector had sincerely at heart, and thus to keep up the friendly relation of this tribe with that of the Igwádaren, induced him to postpone my interests, and to return once more westward, in order to exert his utmost to settle this serious affair. For the very tribe of the Igwádaren, from the first, when they were settled in A'za-wád, had been the protectors of the Kunta, the tribe to which the family of Mukhtár belonged, and had especially defended them against the hostilities of the I'gelád, by whose subjection the former had founded their power. El Bakáy could not but see with the most heartfelt sorrow his former supporters likely to become the auxiliaries of his enemies; and his brother, Sídi Mohammed, whom he had left to fill his place in Timbúktu during his absence, had sent an express messenger from the town, requesting him to come, in order that he might consult with him upon the state of affairs.

As for myself, being anxious about my own interest, and fearing even for my life, which I was convinced was seriously threatened by another return towards

Timbúktu, I employed every means in my power to persuade my friend to allow me to pursue my journey eastward, in the company of those pupils and followers of his whom he had promised to send along with me. But he would not consent to this, and I felt extremely dejected at the time, and could not but regard this retrograde journey to Timbúktu as a most unfortunate event.

Just at this time the news was brought, by way of Ghadámes, of the French having completely vanquished the Shaamba, and made an expedition to Wárgelá and Metlíli. In consequence of this report, the fear of the progress of these foreign and hated intruders into the interior of these regions became very general, and caused suspicion to attach to me, as these people could not but think that my journey to their country had some connection with the expedition of the French. But, taking all the circumstances into account, I found afterwards that my friend was altogether right in postponing for the time my journey eastward.

Sunday,  
April 30th. This was the sad day when, with the most gloomy forebodings, I began my return journey towards the west. There had been the most evident signs of the approach of the rainy season, which in the zone further to the south had already set in, when, after so many reiterated delays, I was obliged once more to return towards that very place which I had felt so happy in having at length left behind me.

My protector was well aware of the state of my feelings, and while the people were loading the camels he came to me, and once more excused himself on account of this retrograde movement. There were, besides myself, some Arabs of the tribe of Gwanín, who wanted to go on to Ghérigo, in order to buy tobacco, and who now likewise were obliged to return once more to the westward, as they had no guarantee for their security in making the journey alone.

The splendid river along the banks of which lay our road, and which here was about half a mile across, afforded the only consolation in my cheerless mood. The junction of the two branches, as seen from this spot, presented a very fine spectacle. The gerredh trees also, which were in full blossom, attracted my attention.

Keeping a little nearer to the sandy downs, we soon reached the place of our former encampment in Taútilt. Having then passed along the small backwater of Barkángo, the volume of which had greatly decreased in these few days, we encamped about four miles beyond, in the open swampy ground which we had had such difficulty in crossing on our outward journey. It is called Erásar. In this low ground, between two swamps and about 800 yards from the bank of the river, without the shade of the smallest tree, the Igwádaren had encamped. It was owing to these swampy sites that I was afflicted with those severe rheumatic pains, from which I afterwards



suffered so much in Bórnu, and which I occasionally feel even now.

The place was the more disagreeable, as we remained here the three following days, El Bakáy endeavouring all the time to persuade the chief A'khbi to restore the property which he had taken from the subjects of his liege lord. I was in the mean time, anxious to keep up a friendly intercourse with the people with whom I was thus brought into contact, although most of the Igwádaren had already gone on in advance to their new retreat, and at that time were collected at Ernésse; while the straightforward and fearless chief Wóghdugu, and his friend Shamuwél, were still behind. I took a great interest in the name of the latter; for I thought that the names of Shamuwél, Sául, and Daniél—all being of frequent occurrence among this tribe, while, as far as I am aware, none of them is found among the Arabs,—tend to confirm the closer relation which these Berbers keep up with the Canaanitic tribes than with the Arabs. There was, in particular, a man of the name of Sáma, who was very friendly with me. On reading with him some writing in "Tefínaghen," or the native Berber character, I became aware that this word signifies nothing more than tokens or alphabet. For as soon as the people beheld my books, and observed that they all consisted of letters, they exclaimed repeatedly, "Tefínaghen—ay—Tefínaghen!" and my little friend Kúngu, who had just learned the Arabic alphabet, was very anxious to know something about

the value of the letters. I here also had proof of the great dislike which the Tawárek have to the name of their father being mentioned, for when the little Haibálla, the companion of the son of the Sheikh, mentioned the death of Kúngu's father, the little fellow flew into a great rage, and was ready to kill him on the spot.

I received, besides, a great deal of information from a young man who had lately come from the north, in order to study under the Sheikh. He belonged to the Welád Yoáza, a section of the tribe of the Méshedúf, which originally appears to have been of pure Berber extraction, being identical with the celebrated tribe of the Masúfa, but who, at present, have become Arabicised. He was evidently a man of a good family; but being now rather scantily supplied with food, he took refuge with me, in order to enjoy my hospitality. On this occasion I learned from him a great deal with regard to some districts of the desert, with which I had been unacquainted.

In the same encampment, we received full confirmation of the news with regard to the progress of the French towards the south, and of their having taken possession of Wárgelá. The excitement produced in consequence was very great, and made my situation extremely difficult and dangerous. The Sheikh El Bakáy came twice in the same afternoon to me, expressing his intention of uniting the strength of the Tawátiye and the Awelímmiden in a common attack upon the French. But I endeavoured to show

him the absurdity of such a proceeding, telling him that they themselves would gain nothing by such inconsiderate conduct, and would only furnish a fresh pretext to the French for penetrating farther into the interior. Moreover, I gave it as my opinion, that the latter, unless instigated, would not undertake such a thing as a military expedition to these distant regions, but would endeavour to open commercial intercourse with them in a peaceful manner. There the matter stopped for the moment.

Thursday,  
May 4th.

All the exertions of the Sheikh to persuade A'khbi to return the property which he had taken by force from the tribes placed under the protection of the Awelinmiden being in vain, the latter broke up his encampment, in order to pursue his journey westward in search of new protectors and allies. To prevent the mischief which might result from this course, my friend followed, and I was obliged reluctantly to accompany him. The river had fallen considerably since I had last visited this district, and the scanty foliage of the lower part of the trees in the swampy tract which we traversed in the beginning of our march, bore evident testimony to the higher state of the water some time before.

- Leaving then our former camping-ground in Tensaróri on one side, we encamped after a march of a little more than six miles, on ground which was still so extremely damp that almost all my luggage was spoiled, while it likewise exercised a most unfa-

yourable effect upon my health. We had previously had evident signs of the approach of the rainy season; but, to-day, we had the first regular shower accompanied by a thunderstorm, and rain fell round about us in a much more considerable quantity. The Tawárek were well aware that this was the real beginning of the rainy season, giving vent to their feelings in the words "ákase yúse"—"the rainy season has set in;" but my Arab companions, who repeatedly assured me that long before the setting in of the rainy season I should certainly reach Sókoto, would not acknowledge this as a regular rain, but qualified it as quite an exceptional phenomenon connected with the setting of the "Pleiads," and calling it in sequence, "mághreb el thrayá."

There was a great dread of lions in our encampment. I especially was warned to be on my guard, as my camping-ground, which I had surrounded with a fence, closely approached a jungle of rank grass; but we passed the night unmolested.

Although I had been promised that we should certainly not pass this place on our return westward, nevertheless, in the morning the order was suddenly given to decamp; and on we went, A'khbi in the van and we in the rear, passing many small temporary encampments of the Igwádaren, who were exiling themselves from their own country. Having thus made a short march of about four miles, through a country now rising in sandy downs, covered with siwák and dúm-bush, at other times spreading out in

Friday,  
May 5th.

low swampy meadow-grounds, and leaving I'ndikuway on our left, we encamped again in the midst of a swamp, at a short distance from the bank of the river. Fortunately, there was some rising ground, opening a fine view over the river, which here formed an arm of about 600 yards in breadth, while the opposite shore of A'ribínda exhibited a very pleasant background. Cautiously I pitched my tent as high as possible, with the door looking towards the river, in order to console myself with the aspect of the stream. A beautiful jéja or caoutchouc tree, here called énderen, which I scarcely remember to have seen anywhere else in the whole of this district, gave life and animation to the encampment. A few miles towards the west, the high sandy downs of U'le Tehárgé formed also an object of great interest.

It was extremely fortunate that the ground of this encampment did not present such a uniform level as in our last day's ámazágh, for in the afternoon we were visited by a violent tempest, which threw back the fence that we had erected around our camping-ground, upon ourselves and our horses, and threatened to tear the tent to pieces: then, having made the round of the whole horizon, it returned once more from the north and discharged itself in a terrific shower, which lasted more than two hours, and changed the whole of the lower part of the plain into a large lake.

This thunderstorm afforded evident proofs of the full power of the rainy season; and as I had not

yet even begun my long journey eastward, through districts so full of large rivers and of swampy valleys, my feelings may be more easily imagined than described. I felt very dissatisfied with the Sheikh El Bakáy, and he, on his part, was well aware of it. His own trustworthy and amiable character inspired me with the confidence that I should at length get safely out of all my trouble ; but an immense amount of Job-like patience was required, for we staid in this encampment the five following days.

But we had a little intercourse with some remarkable persons which gave me some occupation. The most interesting of the passers by were three noble ladies of the tribe of the Kél-hekíkan, well mounted on camels in an open cage, or jakhfa, of



rather simple structure, with the exception of the rich ornament on the head of the animal, as is represented in the accompanying woodcut. But the ladies themselves afforded an interesting sight, being well

formed, of rather full proportions, though very plainly dressed. Then the whole of the Igwádaren, male and female, passed by close to my tent. There were, besides, the Kél-terúrart and the Kél-tamuláit, or, as the Arabs call them, A'hel e' Sául; and I had a long conversation with a troop of eight horsemen of the latter, who, in the evening, came to my tent in order to pay their respects to me. I reciprocated fully their protestations of friendship, and requested one of the two kinsmen of the chief Sául, who were among this troop, to accompany me on my journey eastward, promising to see him safe to Mekka. But, although he greatly valued my offer, he was afraid of the Aréwan or Kél-gerés, and of the inhabitants of A'ír.

There was a great congregation of different chiefs with the Sheikh El Bakáy, and he flattered himself that he had made peace between inveterate enemies, such as E' Téní and Wóghdugu; but the sequel showed that he was greatly mistaken, for these petty tribes cannot remain quiet for a moment. Great numbers of the Shémman-A'mnas were hovering round us, all of them begging for food. But my spirits were too much embittered to exercise great hospitality from the small stock of my provisions, which were fast dwindling away. Indeed, the stores which I had laid in, in the hope that they would last me until I reached Say, were almost consumed, and I was very glad to obtain a small supply of milk, which I usually bought with looking-glasses, or rather rewarded the gifts of the people by the acknowledgment of such a present. But these people were really very miserably off,

and almost in a starving condition, all their property having been taken from them. They informed me that the Igwádaren had plundered twelve villages along the Eghírrëu, among others, those of Bám̄ba, E'gedesh, Aslíman, and Zóm̄goy.

The river was enlivened the whole day long with boats going up and down, and some of the people asserted that these boats belonged to the Fúlbe, who were looking out for an opportunity of striking a blow. The whole world seemed to be in a state of revolution. The news from the north of the advance of the French, the particulars of which, of course, could not but become greatly exaggerated, as the report was carried from tribe to tribe, excited my friend greatly, and the several letters, written by the people of Tawát, who were resident in Timbúktu, having reference to the same event, with which the messenger whom he had sent to that place returned, did not fail to increase his anxiety.

All these people seemed to be inspired with the same fear, that the French might without any further delay march from el Goléa, which they were said to have occupied, upon Timbúktu, or at least upon Tawát. On the whole it was very fortunate indeed that I was not in the town at this conjuncture, as in the first excitement these very people from Tawát, who previously had taken me under their especial protection, and defended me repeatedly, would have contributed to my ruin, as, from their general prejudice against a Christian, they lost all distinction between English and French,



and represented me as a spy whose proceedings were connected with that expedition from the north.

They now urgently requested the Sheikh to write a letter to the whole community of Tawát, and to stimulate them to make an attack upon Wárgelá conjointly with the Hogár and A'zgar; but I did all in my power to prevent him from acceding to such a proposal, although he thought that I was greatly underrating the military strength of the people of Tawát. However, although I succeeded in preventing such a bold stroke of policy, I could not prevent his writing a letter to the French, in which he interdicted them from penetrating further into the interior, or entering the desert, under any pretext whatever, except as single travellers. He also wanted me to write immediately to Tripoli, to request that an Englishman should go as consul to Tawát; but I told him that this was not so easily done, and that he must first be able to offer full guarantee that the agent should be respected.

In my opinion it would be better if the French would leave the inhabitants of Tawát to themselves, merely obliging them to respect Europeans, and keep open the road to the interior; but although at that time I was not fully aware of the intimate alliance which had been entered into between the French and the English, I was persuaded that the latter neither could nor would protect the people of Tawát against any aggressive policy of the French, except by peaceable means, as Tawát is pre-eminently situated

within the range of their own commerce. If both the English and French could agree on a certain line of policy with regard to the tribes of the interior, those extensive regions might, I think, be easily opened to peaceful intercourse. Be this as it may, under the pressure of circumstances, I found myself obliged to affix my name to the letter written by the Sheikh, as having been present at the time, and candour imposed upon me the duty of not signing a wrong name.

All this excitement, which was disagreeable enough, had, however, one great advantage for me, as I was now informed that letters had reached my address, and that I should have them; but I was astonished to hear that these letters had arrived in A'zawád some months previously. I expostulated very strongly with my friend upon this circumstance, telling him that if they wanted friendship and "imána," or security of intercourse with us, they ought to be far more strict in observing the conditions consequent upon such a relation. I then received the promise that I should have the letters in a few days.

Our hosts the Kél-gógi removed their en-  
campment, and we followed them, although  
my protector had repeatedly assured me that in our retrograde movement we should certainly not have to pass the fine caoutchouc-tree that adorned our encampment. Leaving the high sandy downs of U'le-Tehárgé, on the banks of the river, we kept around the extensive swampy meadow-ground which spreads out behind them, several small encampments of the

Wednesday,  
May 10th.

wandering Tawárek enlivening the green border of the swamp. Crossing, then, some rising ground beyond the reach of the wide expanse of shallow backwaters connected with the river, we came to the well-known creek of Amalélle, and followed its northerly shore till we reached its source or head, where our friend A'khbi had taken up his encampment in the midst of a swampy meadow-ground, which afforded rich pasture to his numerous herds of cattle; for, as I have had occasion repeatedly to state, the Tawárek think nothing of encamping in the midst of a swamp.

As for ourselves, we were obliged to look out for some better-protected and drier spot, and therefore ascended the sandy downs, which rise to a considerable elevation, and are well adorned with talha-trees and siwák, or *Capparis sodata*. Having pitched my tent in the midst of an old fence, or zeríba, I stretched myself out in the cool shade, and forgetting for a moment the unpleasant character of my situation, enjoyed the interesting scenery of the landscape, which was highly characteristic of the labyrinth of backwaters and creeks which are connected with this large river of Western Central Africa.

At the foot of the downs was the encampment of our friends the Tawárek, with its larger and smaller leathern tents, some of them open and presenting the interior of these simple movable dwellings; beyond, the swampy creek, enlivened by a numerous herd of cattle half-immersed in the water; then a dense border of vegetation, and beyond in the









distance, the white sandy downs of Ernése, with a small strip of the river. I made a sketch of this pleasant and animated locality, which is represented in

The scenery was particularly beautiful in the moonlight when I ascended the ridge of the downs, which rise to about 150 feet in height. In the evening I received a little milk from the wife of one of the chiefs of the Kél-gógi of the name of Lámmege, who was a good-looking woman, and to whom I made a present of a looking-glass and a few needles in return. The Tawárek, while they are fond of their wives, and almost entirely abstain from polygamy, are not at all jealous; and the degree of liberty which the women enjoy is astonishing; but, according to all that I have heard, instances of faithlessness are very rare among the nobler tribes. Among the degraded sections, however, and especially among the Kél e' Súk, female chastity appears to be less highly esteemed, as we find to be the case also among many Berber tribes at the time when El Bekrí wrote his interesting account of Africa.\*

Meanwhile my good and benevolent protector was in a most unpleasant dilemma, between his regard for his own interest and his respect for myself. He severely rebuked the Tárki chief for having disturbed the friendly relation which had formerly existed between himself and me; for since our retrograde movement, in order to incite my friend to a greater

\* El Bekrí, ed. de Slane, p. 182. والرضا عندهم مباح



degree of energy, I never went to his tent, although he repeatedly paid me a visit. At length, after mature consideration, the Sheikh had decided that I, together with the greater part of his followers, should go to Ernésse, there to await his return, while he himself intended to approach still nearer to Timbúktu, although he affirmed that he would not enter the town under any condition.

Thus we separated the next morning, and I took leave of the friends whom I had made among the tribe of the Igwádaren. These people were leaving their former homes and their former allies, in order to seek new dwelling-places and new friends. There was especially, the little Kúngu, who, early in the morning, came on his white horse to bid me farewell. We had become very good friends, and he used to call daily to talk with me about distant countries, and the different varieties of nations as far as he had any idea of such things. He was an intelligent and chivalrous lad, and with his long black hair, his large expressive eyes, and his melancholy turn of mind, I liked him much. When I told him that he would yet become one of the great chiefs of the Tawárek, and a celebrated warrior, he expressed his fear that it would be his destiny to die young like his brothers, who had all fallen in battle at an early age; but I consoled him, and promised that if any friend of mine should visit these regions after me, I would not fail to send him a present for himself. He regretted having left the neighbourhood of Bámba, which he extolled very

highly on account of its fine trees and rich pasture grounds, but he spoke enthusiastically of the Ráfar-nágar, or, as the Arabs call it, the Rás el má, with the rich, grassy backwaters and creeks which surround it, especially the valley called Tisórmaten, the reminiscences of which filled his boyish mind with the highest delight.

Thus I took leave of this young Tárki lad, after having given him such little presents as I could spare. Swinging himself upon his horse by means of his iron spear, he rode off with a martial air, probably never to hear of me again. I took the opposite direction, along the shore of the creek Amalélle, accompanied by a guide whom A'hmed el Wadáwi had brought from Er-nesse, and followed by Mohammed ben Khottár the Sheikh's nephew, Sídi-Mohammed the Sheikh's son, and almost the whole of his followers. However, the company of all these people did not inspire me with so much confidence that my friend and protector would not tarry long behind, as the fact of the presence of his favourite female cook Díko who accompanied us, and whose services my friend could scarcely dispense with; and I thus agreed in the opinion of his confidential pupil Mohammed el A'mín, who, knowing well the character of his teacher, disputed with energy with those amongst my companions who thought that the Sheikh would send us word to join him in the town.

I therefore cheerfully enjoyed once more the very peculiar character of this river district, with its many

creeks, small necks of land, and extensive swamps. Since we had last visited this place the waters had retired considerably, and the extensive swampy lowlands between Temáharót and Ernésse had become quite dry, so that we had to cross only a narrow channel-like strip of water. Following then the sandy downs, we soon reached the well known encampment of the Kél-n-nokúnder, where I was hospitably entertained with a bowl of ghussub water. I was disposed to enjoy in privacy the view over the river, while lying in the shade of a siwák, but the number of Tawárek who were passing by did not allow me much leisure, for the tents of Sául, as well as those of El Wóghdugu, were at a short distance. But these people, conscious of their having deserved punishment at the hand of their liege lord, were frightened away by the rising of a simúm, as it is popularly believed in the country that this wind is the sign of the approach of the great army, or tábu, of the Awelímmiden, and they all started off the next morning.

The river, which is here very broad, forms a large low island called Banga-gúngu, the "hippopotamus island," while a smaller one, distinguished by a fine tamarind tree, is called Búre. I endeavoured in the afternoon to reach the bank of the river itself; but it is beset with a peculiar kind of grass of great height, armed with such offensive bristles that it is almost impossible to penetrate through it. In the latter part of the cold and during the hot season, a path leads

along this low grassy shore, but, during some months of the year, the water reaches the very downs. It is a fine spot for an encampment, the air being good. But the whole site consists only of a narrow sandy ridge, backed towards the north by an extensive swamp, the border of which is girt with the richest profusion of vegetation, interwoven with creeping plants, and interspersed with dúm-bush. This place is called "tuggada," and forms a haunt for numbers of wild beasts, especially lions, and the inhabitants gave an animated description of a nocturnal combat which, two days previously, had raged between two lions on account of a lioness.

It had been decided that we should await here the return of the Sheikh; but, after we had passed the following day in this place, our friends the Kél-n-nokúnder, already satisfied with the honour of entertaining so many guests for one day, endeavoured to escape from our hands, and, without having given us the slightest warning, on the morning of Saturday suddenly removed their encampment. Fortunately they went eastward, in which direction I would have followed them to the end of the world. Thus my companions, the télamíd, rushed after them like hungry vultures after their prey. I had my things packed in a moment, and we followed them along the same narrow neck of downs on which our route had lain in coming from Amaléllé; but, instead of traversing the swamp by the ford northward, we kept along it towards the east, where the downs gra-

dually decrease in height, being overgrown with *columbines*, and, further on, with *túrsha*, or *Asclepias gigantea*, and the blue *Crucifera* or *daman-káda*. Further on they cease entirely, and give way to a low shore, which, during the highest state of the inundation, forms a connection between the river and the swampy background stretching out behind the downs.

Here, where the river takes a fine sweep to the south-east, and forms several islands, was situated in former times a town of the name of Belesáro, but, at present, nothing but groups of a beautiful species of wild fig-tree, called here *duwé*, mark this spot as the former scene of human industry.

Crossing then a low swampy ground, overgrown with rich *býrgu* and rank reed grass, we reached the high sandy downs of U'le-Teháрге, which had already attracted my attention from our encampment in Te-háрге. On the highest part of these downs the Kél-nokúnder chose the place for their new encampment, and I fixed upon a former fence, wherein I pitched my tent, which from this elevated position was visible over a great part of the river. But my young friend, the Sheikh's nephew, imbued with the superstitious prejudices of his mother, always greatly objected to my using the former dwelling-places of other people, as if they were haunted by spirits.

It was a beautiful camping-ground, elevated about 150 feet above the surface of the river, over which it afforded a magnificent prospect, the river here form-

ing a very noble sheet of water. It is asserted, however, that in summer it is fordable at the place called E'n-sowé. A little beyond the end of the downs, where it formed another reach towards the south, the river presented the appearance of an extensive lake. Nearer the opposite shore a low grassy island called Rábara stretched out, and another narrow strip of ground called Wáraka was separated from the shore, on our side, by a narrow channel, and overgrown with the finest býrgu. Towards the south, the steep sandy downs were bordered by a strip of rich vegetation, behind which a green swampy plain stretched out, intersected by an open channel, which separated us from the main, where another village of the Kél-nokúnder was lying, the barking of whose dogs was distinctly heard.

The small creek which separated the island of Wáraka from our shore was full of crocodiles, some of which measured as much as eighteen feet, the greatest length which I have ever seen this animal attain in Central Africa; and swimming just below the surface of the water, with the head occasionally peeping forth, they greatly threatened the security of the cattle, who were grazing on the fine rank grass growing on the border of the creek. In the course of the day these voracious and most dangerous animals succeeded in seizing two cows belonging to our hosts, and inflicted a very severe wound upon a man who was busy cutting grass for my horses.

This man had attached himself to my party in order

to return to Háusa, which was originally his home. But there was a great difference of opinion as to whether he was at liberty to go, although he was a liberated slave, and I was given to understand that his company might involve me in disputes with his former masters; for, in general, even liberated slaves are supposed to observe some sort of duty to their former employers. Nevertheless, I had allowed him to stay, but was now obliged to send him back to Timbúktu, as almost the whole of his foot had been carried away by the monster, so that he was entirely unfit for the journey, and required immediate relief.

The view of the river was the more interesting, as a strong north-east wind, or, as the Tawárek say, "erife," ruffled its surface so considerably, that it crested the waves with white foam, and presented a very animated appearance, the magnificent sheet of water, the green island and shore, and the high ridge of the wide sandy downs, forming a most pleasing contrast.

There was, also, no lack of intercourse. Sometimes it was some fishermen of the Songhay who solicited my hospitality in the evening; at others, it was a troop of Tawárek horsemen, who came to see the Christian stranger of whom they had heard so much. The most remarkable among them were the horsemen of the Kél-tabórit, and the Kél-támuláit \*, with whom I

\* Two of the Kel-tabórit gave me the following list of places from hence along the river as far as A'nsongó, and, as it contains a few names with which I did not become acquainted in the right

managed to make them understand that the whole of this extensive region, of which they knew only a small part, was "nothing but a large island, or gúngu" ("gúngu ghás"), in the great salt sea, just as the island of Rá-bara, opposite to us, was with regard to the Niger, or the Bghírreü, the only name by which this river is known to all the Berber tribes. They thus became aware that the dominion of the sea was of some importance, as it gave access to all these countries, whereas before they had only looked with a sort of contempt upon people living only, as they thought, in vessels on the sea; and they were not a little surprised when I told them that we were able to come up this river from the sea. They likewise had heard, and some of them perhaps had even seen, something of that adventurous Christian who, fifty years ago, had navigated this river, and who, even after

place, and moreover presents various forms, I will here insert it:—Ejji, Yó Kaina, Karre, Gówa, Káma, Kokíshi, Bogánne, Serére, Aríbis, Anrabéra, Ajíma, Terárwist, Kórsejáy, Tédafo, Ajáta, Áutel-mákkoren, Tekánkant, Insámmen, E'm-n-tabórak, Asiya, Samgoy, Tághemart, Kóyaga, Taúsa, Burrum, Tén-ézedé, Há, Gógó, Borno, Bára, Enejéti, Tufádafo, Ebébelen, A'nsongó. At the same time I learned the localities along the road from A'nsongó, or probably from Búre to Dóre, the chief place of Libtáko, which is a track not unfrequently followed by the inhabitants of the districts on the left bank of the Niger: —Inbám, Ejéar, Támbelghú, Akhabébel, E'nkulbé, Wendu (Dóre). Akhabébel, or Khalébleb, is the name of a large lake or backwater, which is also touched at in going from Gógó to Dóre, and which seems to deserve the full attention of European explorers.



this lapse of time, remains a mysterious and insoluble enigma to them, as to the place from whence he so suddenly appeared, and whither he was going.

The influence of conversation is great among these simple dwellers of the desert, and the more we talked the more friendly became the behaviour of my visitors, till at last they asked me why I did not marry one of their daughters and settle among them. On the other side of the river there were encampments of the Imediddiren and Terféntik, and some of the latter paid our hosts a rather abrupt visit, taking away from them a head of cattle, so that the Sheikh's nephew, Mohammed ben Khottár, was obliged to cross the river in order to obtain damages from them. The Kél-n-nokúnder, who in former times had been greatly ill-used by the free Imóshagh, have been imbued by their protectors the Kunta with such a feeling of independence, that they are now not inclined to bear even the slightest injustice, and they had certainly some right to demand that, at the very moment while they were treating so large a party belonging to their protector, they should not themselves suffer any violence. However, I heard to my great surprise, that they likewise pay zeká to the Fúlbe, or Fullán. My friend, who had some trouble in persuading the freebooters from beyond the river to restore the property, represented them to me as fine tall men, kinsfolk of the Tarabanása, but very poor. It is really surprising that a family of peaceable men should exercise

such an influence over these wild hordes, who are continually waging war against each other, merely from their supposed sanctity and their purity of manners.

The interesting character of the locality did not suffice, however, for our material welfare, and my companions made serious complaints on account of the scanty supply of food which they received from our hosts; and for this reason they were almost as eager to hear some news of the Sheikh as I myself.

From our former encampment in Ernésse, I had sent my servant, Mohammed el Gatróni, into the town in order to procure me a supply of the most necessary provisions, as my former stock was entirely consumed; and it was fortunate, on this account, that I had saved 5000 shells, which I was able to give him for this purpose. He now joined us again in this place on the 14th, and, of course, every one hastened to learn what news he had brought from the town and from the camp of the Sheikh. He had arrived in Timbúktu a little before sunset, and, having finished, without delay, his purchases of the articles wanted by me, immediately hurried away to the camp of my protector; for, as soon as the news of the arrival of my servant had got abroad in the town in conjunction with the return of the Sheikh to his camp, the utmost excitement prevailed amongst the townspeople, who fancied that I myself was returning, and, in consequence, the alarm drum was beaten. My servant also informed me that the Ta-

wátiye themselves were greatly excited against me, as if I had had anything to do with the proceedings of the French against Wárgelá; and he assured me, that, if I had still been in the town, they would have been the first to have threatened my life. He had only slept one night in the camp, and then left early the following morning, and therefore knew nothing about our protector's coming, but he confirmed the fact that there were letters for me. Fortunately, on returning, he had been informed that we had changed our camping-ground, and finding a guide, he had been able to join us without delay. The suníye of negro-millet fetched at the time, in the market of Timbúktu, 4500; a large block of salt of about 60lb. weight, 5000; and kóla nuts, from 80 to 100 shells each. With my limited supply of means, it was fortunate that I never became accustomed to the latter luxury.

## CHAP. LXXV.

FINAL AND REAL START. — CREEKS ON THE NORTHERN BANKS  
OF THE NIGER. — OHÉRGHO. — BAMBA.

ABOUT noon the whole encampment was thrown into a state of the greatest excitement; by the arrival of two of the Sheikh's followers, who informed us that our friend had not only left the camp, but had even passed us, keeping along the northern border of the swamp which stretched behind our camping-ground. All was joy and excitement, and in an instant my tent was struck, and my luggage arranged on the backs of the camels. But we had to take a very roundabout way to get out of this place, surrounded and insulated as it was by deep swamps, for with our horses and camels, together with our heavy luggage, we could not think of crossing the creek which entirely cuts off the downs of U'le-Tehárgé. We were thus obliged to return all the way to Belesáro, almost as far as our previous fording-place between Amalélle and Ernésse. Here, cutting through the swampy plain (which at present at this spot was for the greater part dry), along the localities called Tin-éggédád, and further on

Wednesday,  
May 17th.

Oraken, we at length, having gained firm ground, were able to change our direction to the east along Eliggedúf and Ewábe. We had just marched three hours, when we found ourselves opposite our encampment on the downs, separated from them by the swampy ground of about half a mile in extent.

Uncertain as to the direction which our friend had taken, we now began to rove about, here and there, in search of him; but there was no inducement to tarry long, as, by the breaking up of a great number of encampments of the Tawárek, an innumerable host of small flies had been left in this district without occupation and sustenance, and thus left destitute of their usual food greedily attacked ourselves. Leaving then behind us the low downs, which were thickly covered with dúm-bush, the resort of a numerous host of guinea fowl, we entered again low swampy ground, and at length, after having traversed a thickly wooded district, ascertained the spot whither the Sheikh had betaken himself, which was at a place called A'kale, the eminence on the bank of the river being called E'm-aláwen. But, when we at length reached it, we found the holy man sleeping in the shade of a siwák, or *Capparis*, and the noise of our horses, as we came galloping along, was not sufficient to awaken him from his deep slumber. Such was the mild and inoffensive character of this man, in the midst of these warlike and lawless hordes.

Waiting till my protector should rise from his peaceful slumber, I sat down in the shade of a rich

awoke, enjoying the faint prospect of my journey home, now opening before me.

At length my friend awoke, and I went to him. He received me with a gentle smile, telling me that he was now ready to conduct me on my journey without any further delay or obstruction, and handing me at the same time a parcel of letters and papers. There were copies of two letters from Lord John Russell, of the 19th February 1853; one from Lord Clarendon, of the 24th of the same month; a letter from Chevalier Bunsen; another from Colonel Hermann; and two from Her Majesty's agent in Fezzán. There were no other letters, either from home or from any of my friends; but there were, besides, ten Galignanis, and a number of the Athenæum, of the 19th March 1853.

I can scarcely describe the intense delight I felt at hearing again from Europe, but still more satisfactory to me was the general letter of Lord John Russell, which expressed the warmest interest in my proceedings. The other letters chiefly concerned the sending out of Dr. Vogel and his companions, which opened to me the prospect of finding some European society in Bórnu, if I should succeed in reaching my African head-quarters in safety. But of the expedition to the Tsadda or Bénuwé, which had started for its destination some time previously to the date of my receiving these letters, I obtained no intimation by this opportunity; and, indeed, did not obtain the slightest hint of that undertaking, of which I myself

was to form a part, till December, when it had already returned to England.

I thanked the Sheikh for having at length put me in possession of these despatches, but I repeated at the same time my previous remark, that if he and his friends wanted to have "imána," or well established peaceable intercourse with us, security ought first of all to prevail as to our letters, and I was assured that this parcel had been lying in A'zawád for at least two months. But the Sheikh excused himself, stating that one of the chief men in that district, probably the chief of the Bérabísh, had kept them back under the impression that they might contain something prejudicial to his country; an opinion which, of course, could not fail to be confirmed by the proceedings of the French in the south-western districts bordering upon Algeria. But, altogether, the history of this parcel was marvellous. It had evidently come by way of Bórnu; yet there was not a single line from the vizier, who, if all had been right, I felt sure would have written to me; moreover, the outer cover had been taken off, although the seal of the inner parcel had not been injured. But the reason, of which I, however, did not become aware till a much later period, was this, that, before the parcel left Sókoto, the news of the execution of the vizier had already reached that place, when the letter addressed by that person to myself was taken away, and probably also something else which he had sent for me. But, it moreover happened that the man who was com-

missioned to convey the parcel to Timbúktu was slain by the Góberáwa, or Mariadáwa, on the road between Gando and Say, at a moment when the packet was by accident left in the hands of a companion of his, who, pursuing his route in safety, took it to A'zawád. But the death of the principal bearer of the letters addressed to me, in all probability, contributed not a little to confirm the rumour of myself having been slain near Marádi. However, at that time, and even much later, I had no idea that such rumours were current in the quarter which I had left.

It was with a very pleasant feeling that I at length found myself in the company of my noble host, again pursuing my journey eastward; and I enjoyed the peculiar features of the country with tolerable ease and comfort. The varied composition of our troop, among whom there were several well disposed friends, afforded also much relief.

The country was the same that I had already traversed; but it presented some new features, as we followed another path. I was principally struck with the enormous size of the "retem," or broom, which here assumed the proportions of considerable trees of more than twenty feet in height, while the siwák, or *Capparis sodata*, was in great abundance.

Having rested, after a march of about ten miles, in a dense part of the forest, which is said to be frequented by lions, we pursued our march in the afternoon; when, proceeding along the swampy creek



of Barkänge, which was now almost dried up, and passing Tantilt, we pitched our tents a little beyond the former amazagh of the chief Wóghda, near a camp of the Welád-Molúk. The branch of the river at this spot was at present so shallow, that a flock of sheep was seen fording it towards the island; water-fowl, also, and especially such birds as live upon fish, were in immense numbers. Crocodiles were seen in abundance, and caused us some anxiety for the horses, which were pasturing on the fine rank grass at the border of the river.

The Tawárek having now left the banks of the river, the black natives seemed to be more at their ease, and several boats belonging to the Songhay crossed over to us from the island of Kóra. I had seen the male portion of the Arab tribe of the Welád-Molúk on a former occasion, but I here, for the first time, saw their wives and daughters, who, attracted by curiosity, came in the evening to catch a glimpse of the Christian stranger, and were roving about my tent, but I did not observe a single attractive person among them, and, feeling rather sleepy, paid but little attention to them.

Friday,  
May 19th. While the other members of our troop kept more inland, I followed the bank of the river, which here, with its fine open sheet of water, presents a highly interesting aspect, till I reached our old camping-ground at Izéberen, from whence I had some difficulty in rejoining my friends, for the whole of this part of the river is full of backwaters and

creeks, which renders the communication rather difficult to people who are not well acquainted with the character of the country, but on this very account they afford rich pasture-grounds after the river has begun to decrease. Unfortunately, even now, when we had finally entered upon our journey, the dilatory character of my host remained unaltered, and, after a march of seven miles, we halted near a small encampment of the Kél-n-nokúnder, professedly as if we were to start again in the afternoon, but in reality in order to pass the night there. However, I was glad that we had at least gone beyond the place which we had reached on our former abortive start.

The locality was adorned with some luxuriant specimens of duwé, and the tagelálet, or agáto. Under one of these fine trees, the dense foliage of which almost reached the ground, I passed the heat of the day in friendly conversation with some of the peaceable Tolba, who came to have a chat with me on religious topics. When the cool of the evening set in, I pitched my tent near the bank of the open branch of the river, which was girt by a fine border of rank grass; but the river was here broken, and did not present that noble character which I was wont to admire in it.

We were to start at a very early hour, but the difficulty of making out the right path Saturday,  
May 20th. among these numerous swamps and creeks, kept us back till all our companions were ready. We then had to turn round a very difficult swamp, which had

now begun to dry up, and where we observed the first traces of the wild hog that I had hitherto seen along this part of the Niger. After we had left this swamp behind us, the river exhibited its truly magnificent character, and we proceeded close along the border of its limpid waters, on a beautiful sandy beach, our left being shut in by high sandy downs, richly clad with düm-palms and tagelálet.

It was here, for the first time, that I observed the traces of the zangway. This animal appears to be quite distinct from the crocodile, and perhaps resembles the American igwana. It is much smaller than the crocodile; and its footprint indicated a much broader foot, the toes being apparently connected by a continuous membrane. Unfortunately I never obtained a sight of the animal itself, but only observed its footprints in the sand: it attains, as it seems, only to the length of from six to eight feet.

The well-defined character of the river, however, did not last long, and again there succeeded the low swampy shore, which occasionally obliged us to keep at a greater distance from the main trunk, while the vegetation in general was abundant. The predominant tree in this district, also, was the siwák, or *Capparis*, which, with its small berries, which were just ripening, afforded us occasionally a slight refreshment. They can, however, only be taken in small quantities, as they have a very strong taste, like pepper, and on this account are much pleasanter when they are dried, in which state they afford a not

inconsiderable portion of the food of the nomadic inhabitants of these regions. Besides the siwák, or "tésak," there was also a great quantity of "retem," which is here called atárkit or ásabay; further on, dúm-palms became very prevalent.

Leaving, then, the locality called Tahónt on our left, ~~we reached a very large grassy creek, which was en-~~livened by herds of cattle, and encamped on its border, in the shade of a dense belt of fine trees, woven together by an immense number of climbing plants. The whole bottom of the valley was at least seven hundred yards wide, and behind a smaller strip of water a larger open branch was observed, intersecting the rich grassy valley. It is very remarkable, that neither the Imóshagh, or Tawárek, nor the Arabs, have, as far as I am aware, a name sufficiently expressive for these shallow vales; the Arabs in general calling an open creek of water "rejl" or "krá," and a less open one "bot-há;" while the Tawárek call them in general an arm, properly a leg, of the river, or "ádar-n-eghírrëu;" but the native Háusa name "fúddama" is far more significant. It was on this account that Caillié called the whole of these shallow creeks by the corrupted Jolof name, "marigot."

Close behind our encampment the ground formed a slight slope, and presented the site or tazámbut of a former Songhay place called Hendi-kíri, a place which is perhaps identical with Kambakíri, mentioned in the history of Songhay as the spot where a dread-

ful battle was fought between two rival pretenders.\* It is difficult to imagine the different aspect which this country must have presented in former times, when all the favourable sites formed the seats of flourishing dwelling-places, and animated intercourse was thronging along the track on the side of the river. It was a fine halting-place, characteristic of the whole nature of this region; but the ants were very numerous, and disturbed us greatly during our short halt.

After resting for about four hours, we pursued our march eastward, keeping for the first mile close along the bot-há, which soon changed its character to a considerable open sheet of water. Leaving then this water, and crossing several smaller grassy creeks, and traversing a low sandy ridge, we reached another large backwater; and winding along it in a south-easterly direction, through bushes and dúm-palms, we reached, after a march of about six miles, an interesting sandy headland called E'm-n-kúris, situated at the point where the creek joins the river, which here forms a fine sweep, changing its course from a west-easterly to a south-northerly direction.

On this open sandy promontory we chose the spot for our night's quarters, opposite an encampment of the Kél-antsár which was situated on the other side of the creek, and enlivened by dúm-palms.

\* A'hmed Bába, in Journal of Leipsic Oriental Society, vol. ix. p. 547.

The river itself formed a fine open sheet, broken only by a small island, and, being animated by several boats, exhibited a grand spectacle. There was a good deal of consultation in the evening between the eldersmen, or ámaghár, of the Kél-antsár and my protector, with regard to the course to be pursued under the present political circumstances of the country, these poor people scarcely knowing which party to follow amidst the general confusion which prevailed. I learned on this occasion that the I'gelád, to whom the tribe of the Kél-antsár belongs, have three learned chiefs or judges, the most respected of whom, El Táher, lives at Rás el má. The night which we passed here on a rising ground just over the stream was beautifully fresh, while the elevation caused us to be exempt from the plague usual in these swampy lowlands.

While we were breaking up our encampment and loading our animals, the op-  
posite camp of our friends was enlivened by numerous herds of sheep and goats, and we should have made a very interesting day's march, as we were now approaching a better-inhabited district, if it had not been for the hospitable treatment of our hosts, who, in order to satisfy their numerous visitors, had probably, the preceding night, mixed together all sorts of milk, so that almost all the people were seriously ill; and the first part of our march presented so distressing a spectacle that most of my companions thought the milk had been poisoned.

Sunday,  
May 21st.

Thus we passed a remarkable locality on a rising sandy bank behind a considerable creek, which, by its name Tamizgida, evidently indicates the site of a former dwelling-place, and is probably identical with the Tírka (or rather Tírekka) of Arab geographers\*, if that identity does not apply to Ghérگو. Having passed this place, we followed the shallow water, which gradually widened, being intersected by fences and dykes for the purpose of cultivating rice and catching fish. Larger trees became gradually more scanty, indicating our approach to a still existing dwelling-place, as is generally the case in Negroland, the trees being consumed for firewood; but just as we came in sight of this place, which is Ghérگو (pronounced Rérgو), in order to avoid the heat during the midday hours, on an almost unprotected shore, we thought it better to halt in the shade of the last trees. I myself found shelter under the densely woven foliage of a fine group formed by the union of a géza with an aghelál, where I had nothing better to do than to treat all my people with tea and coffee, in order to restore their wasted spirits and strength, as they had suffered greatly from their last night's diet.

\* See the highly interesting account of this place, the great commercial *entrepôt* between Ghána in the west and Tademékka in the east, in El Bekrí, "Description de l'Afrique," p. 180. The express mention of the ants which he here makes is very important, as, in coming from Timbúktu, the first ants were observed by us near Hendi-kíri.

Our road from this point to the town led along the border of the swampy lowlands, following a great many windings round the indented shore of the creek. Thus we reached, after a march of a little more than two miles, the bank opposite the village of Ghérgó, and began looking about for some time for a fit place to encamp, for the village itself, situated as it is behind a large backwater, could not be reached. The opposite shore is extremely bleak and unbroken, being destitute even of bush, while only three isolated trees dotted the ground for a great distance, and these were unfortunately too far off from the ford, where we chose our camping-ground, to be of any use to us during our stay.

Ghérgó is a place not without interest, and seems to be of considerable antiquity. According to tradition, it is stated to be seven years older than Tumbu-tu, or Timbúktu, and seems therefore well deserving of a right to be identified with one of the celebrated centres of life in these regions in the first dawn of historical record. It was originally situated on the main, occupying an eminence a little to the east of our encampment, till, in more recent times, the weakened and unprotected inhabitants were obliged to retire behind the backwater from fear of the Tawárek. Certainly, the insular nature of their dwelling-place is of a rather indistinct character; for in general, with the exception of those years when the inundations of the river reach an extraordinary height, as had been the case this year, the



smaller branch dries up to such an extent, that a person may enter the place without wetting his feet; but this happens at a season when their tormentors the Tawárek leave the banks of the river and retire inland, so that they suffer but little from them. This year the high state of the inundation had inspired them with so much confidence, that they had refused their boats to the tábu, or the army of their great liege lord himself. The river had risen to such an elevation, that it had reached their very huts, which, separated into three distinct groups, are situated on a *slightly rising ground*.

The inhabitants, even in the present reduced state of the country, raise a good deal of rice and tobacco, though the cultivation ought to be much more extensive, if we consider the wide expanse of the low swampy ground which is reached by the inundation. The river, indeed, is at such a distance, that it is not seen at all, being hidden behind the sandy downs which form its inner bank. But it is remarkable that the nutritious grass, the býrgu, which I have so repeatedly mentioned, was almost wanting here, and the cattle of the village were obliged to be driven to a great distance, so that, notwithstanding the richness of the pasture-grounds in general, I was in want of milk.

We remained here the following day, and after a very cold morning, which seemed rather remarkable in the month of May, I took a walk up the gradually rising downs, which partly consisted of sand and

gravel, partly exhibited a more stony character, and, contrasted with the wide green valley of the river, presented a bleak desert scenery with undulating ground towards the north, clad with nothing but isolated tufts of dry herbage. From the higher ground I had an interesting view over the whole village, situated in the midst of swampy creeks and bordered on each side by a solitary tree. I counted from this point about 350 huts.

On returning from my walk to our encampment, I found a great number of the inhabitants of the place assembled, and, after they had paid their compliments to the Sheikh, anxiously looking out for the stranger in order to obtain his blessing also. But I did not find them sufficiently interesting to have much intercourse with them, for they have very little of that noble independent carriage which distinguishes, in such an eminent degree, their south-eastern countrymen; and their stature, as well as their features, seemed to indicate plainly a very strong intermixture with Mósi slaves. It is not improbable, that the whole indigenous population of this northern bank of the Niger originally belonged to the race of the Tombo. Most of these people wore closely fitting white shirts and trowsers, both made of a broad kind of cotton strip, or *tári*, of very coarse texture, while their head is generally encircled with a very rugged and poor turban, if we may so call it, of the same material; only a few of them being dressed in a more decent style. They had a good deal of butter, but

dared not sell it, through fear of the Tawárek. I was not a little surprised at the large species of geese which they were breeding.

**Tuesday,**  
**May 23rd.** We started in the cool of the morning, keeping close to the border of the swampy creek, which gradually becomes narrower, while the principal trunk of the river approaches. After a march of about a mile and a half, we receded a little into the desert, which exhibited an immense number of footprints of the giraffe, generally three or four together. Here the vegetation was rather scanty, the ground in general being covered with nothing but low bushes; but, after we had approached a small ridge of sandy downs, we crossed a hollow, which, being the dried up ground of a pond, or dhaye, was surrounded with dúm-bush and tobacco-grounds.

We had been joined some time previously by a chief of the Kél-antsár, who invited us to spend the hot hours of the day with him. We therefore halted at an early hour by the side of his encampment, which was situated on a promontory close beyond the rich vale whence the district was called "eráshar;" Kírtebe and Tárashít we had left on one side. The people slaughtered a whole ox, and sent us a great many dishes of rice and sour milk. The whole tribe of the Kél-antsár is rather numerous, numbering upwards of 1000 full-grown men, but they are scattered over a wide extent of country, reaching from Gógó to Rás el má, and even into the interior of Tagánet, the district between Timbúktu and A'zawád.

We had intended to pitch our tent here, but we found the ground so extremely dry and hard that it would not hold the pegs.

Soon after starting in the afternoon, on descending from the eminence we had a fine view of the river, two branches of which united behind an island. But the scenery soon changed, and, leaving the river at some distance, proceeding first over sandy ground, and then crossing a large backwater which was at present tolerably dry, and following a large herd of cattle that were returning from their pasture grounds, we reached another considerable ámazágh of the Kél-antsár, and encamped between them and the green swampy shore of the river. The place is called Zár-ho; but in the river lies the island of Kúrkozáy, which has obtained a kind of celebrity on account of a sanguinary battle which was fought there thirty-five years previous to the time of my visit, between the Tawárek on the one side, and the Songhay and Ermá or Rumá on the other. The people here seemed to be very rich in cattle, and supplied us with an enormous quantity of fresh milk.

While we were loading our camels, the sky was overcast with thick clouds, and heavy rain evidently fell in A'ribínda, while with us the strong wind prevented the clouds from discharging their contents. I have repeatedly remarked upon the quantity of rain that falls on the southern side of the river compared with the northern. Dry as the country here appeared to be, we this day became

Wednesday,  
May 24th.

more than ever entangled among the numerous backwaters which make the passage along the river so difficult, although they afford the richest pasturage to the cattle. The fault was that of our guide, who directed our course too far south from east, till, on becoming aware of our error, we had to cross two very considerable grassy creeks, the first having three and a half feet of water, and the last being still deeper. The tall rank grass of the býrgu entangled the feet of the horses, and caused them to fall, to the great discomfiture of their riders.

Having at length succeeded in crossing this double creek, we had still to traverse another grassy inlet, joining it from the north side, after which, all these swampy low lands uniting together, formed a very extensive fáddama, at the broadest part about two or three miles wide, the whole surface of the water being covered with water-lilies (*Nymphæa Lotus*). Beyond this extensive backwater, on a grassy island of the river, lies the hamlet Tabálit, and at a short distance from it another ádabay, of the name of A'baten. Here the extensive backwaters after a little while cease, and allow the river itself to approach the sandy downs, which in this spot rise to a considerable height. They thus afforded myself and the Sheikh's nephew a fine view over the river, which here forms a "large island," designated by this very name, "autel-makkóren," or "imakkóren;" it often forms the camping-ground for Tawárek tribes. The sandy downs, however, soon gave way to swampy back-

waters, the indented outline of which gave to our march a very indistinct direction, and formed a remarkable contrast to the dreary rising-ground on our left. The difficulties, however, after a while became more serious than ever, for we suddenly found ourselves on a narrow dyke, destined to keep back the water for the cultivation of rice, situated in the midst of a swamp. For the people of Timbúktu, who were brought up in the swampy grounds, were not aware of any difficulty until we approached the opposite shore, when we found that the dyke was intersected by a narrow channel, over which it was dangerous to leap our horses; and although my own horse accomplished the feat with success, many of the others refused to do so, so that most of the people preferred making their way through the swamp. As for myself, it was highly interesting to me, thus to become aware of all the various features of this whole formation, although for the sake of comfort we ought to have kept further inland.

When we at length left this swampy ground behind us, everything bore testimony to the fact, that we were approaching another little centre of life in this neglected tract, which, from a certain degree of civilisation, has almost relapsed into a state of total barbarism. Dykes made for the cultivation of rice, and places where the býrgu, the rank grass of the river, was passed through a slight fire in order to obtain honey from the stalks thus deprived of the small leaves, were succeeded by small fields of tobacco

and wheat. Nay, even barley was seen, an almost unheard of article in the whole of these regions. Meanwhile, the deep channels made for irrigating these grounds showed a degree of industry which I had not seen for a long time. At present, of course, they were dry, the stubble of the wheat and barley alone remaining in the fields, irrigation being employed only during the highest state of the river, when the water closely approaches these grounds.

Here, where an open branch of the river was seen dividing into two smaller arms, we obtained a view of the town of Bamba, or rather of its date-palms, which waved their feathery foliage over a sandy promontory. However, the sky was by no means clear. Soon we reached this spot, and I was highly delighted at seeing again some fine specimens of the date-palm, having scarcely beheld a single one since leaving Kanó. The trees on the western side of the village are formed into groups, and in their neglected state, with the old dry leaves hanging down from under the fresh ones, formed a very picturesque spectacle. On the east side, also, where we were encamped, close to a magnificent tamarind, were two tall slender specimens of this majestic tree; but altogether there were scarcely more than forty full-grown date-palms. They are said to furnish a good kind of fruit, but, not having tasted them myself, I cannot give an opinion as to their quality.

The village, at present, consists of about two

hundred huts, built of mattings, and oval-shaped ; for, besides a small mosque, there are only two or three clay buildings, or rather magazines, one of which belongs to Bábá A'hmed, a younger brother of the Sheikh El Bakáy, who generally resides here ; at present, however, he was absent.

Such is the condition of this place at present ; but there cannot be any doubt that it was of much more importance three centuries ago, as it is repeatedly mentioned in the history of Songhay ; and its situation — at a point where the river, from having been spread at least during a great part of the year over a surface of several miles, is shut in by steep banks and compressed at the narrowest point to from 600 to 700 yards — must have been of the highest importance, at a time when the whole of the region along this large navigable river was comprised under the rule of a mighty kingdom of great extent, and even afterwards, when it had become a province of Morocco.

This was evidently the reason why the place was fortified at that time, and probably it had formerly a strong fortress, constantly occupied by a garrison, which accounts for the Tawárek, even at the present day, calling the whole place by the name of Kásba. It also serves to explain the fact, that the whole population of the village, even at the present time, consists of Rumá, the progeny of the musketeers who conquered this province for the Emperor of



**Morocco.** But, while in former times they were the ruling race, at present they drag on a rather miserable existence, the protection of the Kunta being scarcely sufficient to defend them against the daily contributions levied upon them by the overbearing rulers of the desert. A short time previously the chief Sadáktu had driven away almost all their cattle.

While awaiting the camels, I sat down on a cliff overhanging the steep bank, which here was about twenty-five feet in height, and enjoyed the splendid view over that great watery highroad of West-Central Africa. The waves of the river were raised by a strong wind, and offered considerable resistance to some light boats endeavouring to reach the opposite shore. My companions soon observed the interest which I took in the scene, and my amiable friend, the Sheikh's nephew, joined me here to enjoy the pleasant prospect. He was glad to find that, since we were fairly proceeding on our journey, my mind had become far easier and more cheerful. He often spoke with me about my happy return to my native country; and I expressed to him the wish that he might accompany me, and witness for himself some of the achievements of Europeans. He had been to this place several times before, and had always taken great interest in the difference in the nature of the river, which, from spreading out over flat swampy shores with numerous backwaters, with a few exceptions, here becomes compressed between high banks; and he again repeated to me his account of

the great narrowing of the river at Tósaye, where a stone might easily be thrown from one bank to the other, while at the same time the river was so deep, that a line made from the narrow strips of a whole bullock's skin was not sufficient to reach the bottom.

While thus cheerfully enjoying the interesting scenery, we were joined by several Rumá inhabitants of the village, who rather disturbed our silent contemplation. But their own character was not wholly uninteresting; for several of them were distinguished from the common Songhay people by the glossy lustre and the lighter hue of their skin; their features also were more regular, and their eyes more expressive. All of them wore, as an outward token of their descent, a red bandage about two inches wide over the shawl which covered the upper part of their face, and a leathern belt hanging loose over the right shoulder, ready to be fastened round the waist at the first signal of danger. Several of them were also distinguished by their better style of dress, which betokened a greater degree of cleanliness and comfort. As for smoking, all the inhabitants along the shores of this great river seemed to be equally fond of it. The pipe is scarcely ever out of their mouth. While smoking, they keep their mouth covered, after the fashion which they have learnt from the Tawárek. The head of the pipe sticks out from below the shawl.

At length the camels arrived. They had been called back by mistake from the upper road which

they were pursuing, into the difficult swampy ground which we ourselves had traversed. A large comfortable dwelling of matting, or "búge," as it is called, was erected on the sandhills, for the Sheikh and his companions; but I had my tent pitched near the fine group of date palms, and from this point I made the subjoined sketch, which will impart to the reader a tolerably correct idea of the place.

Here we remained the following day, when I was roused at a very early hour by the crowing of the cocks in Bamba, which could not but recall to my mind the fate of the enterprising but unfortunate Mungo Park, who is said by the natives to have stayed here a couple of hours in order to provide himself with fowls, and thus to have given leisure to the Tawárek, lower down the river, to collect together and impede his passage; a story which is also related with regard to Gógó and some other places along the river; though it is more probable that his chief reason for making a halt near the principal places along the river, was to open communication with the natives, and more particularly in order to make astronomical observations.

Rising at an early hour, while the sky was beautifully clear, I enjoyed an hour's pleasing reverie on my favourite rock of the previous day, overhanging the river. Although in full agitation the day before, this morning its surface was unruffled, and several boats were crossing over towards the island.

I afterwards called upon my protector. One of his









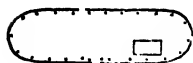
younger brothers, Sídí I'lemín, had the preceding day come to pay him a visit as he was passing through this country, and when I was ascending the sandy hill, on the slope of which their matting dwelling had been erected, he came out to meet me, and complimented me in a very cheerful manner. He was a respectable man, with a very pleasing countenance, and had with him his son, a most beautiful boy of seven years.

I could not help thinking what a noble family this was. They were all sons of Sídí Mohammed el Kunti, the chief who received Major Laing in A'zawád. First, Mukhtár, Bakáy's elder brother, who succeeded to his father when that chief had succumbed to an epidemic fever which raged in A'zawád, just at the time of Major Laing's arrival, and who died in 1847; then Sídí Mohammed, a man with a truly princely demeanour; then El Bakáy himself; next, 'Abidín, likewise well deserving the distinguished position of a chief, although he differed in politics from El Bakáy; then Hámna, a man with whom I did not become personally acquainted, but who was represented by all as a noble man; Sídí I'lemín; Bábá A'hmed; and Sídí A'mmer. This latter is the youngest, but certainly not the least noble of the family. While on a visit to Sókoto, together with his brother El Bakáy, he made a deeper impression upon the people, and obtained their favour more generally than his elder brother. A'lawáte is the only member of this family, who, with the exception of his learning,



does not seem to contribute much to its honour ; but, even in his case, we must take into account the customs of the country, and not judge of him according to our views of nobility.

The light dwelling which had been erected for my protector, simple as it was, was spacious and elegant, affording a very cool resting-place during the heat of the day. It was of an oblong shape,



measuring about 20 feet by 9, with two doors opposite each other, a large angáreb forming a comfortable resting-place. The mats of which these huts are constructed are very large and excellently woven, the huts being supported by a framework of slender bushes. But the hut, although very pleasant, was too crowded, and, during the hot hours of noon, I retired to a group of magnificent gerredh trees, which overshadowed the cemetery, lying at the southern side of the village, and, interwoven by a dense growth of creepers, afforded a most agreeable shade, such as I had never before observed in the case of this tree.

Together with the adjoining tobacco fields, which were just exhibiting their freshest green, this cemetery formed a striking contrast to the barren country further north, which, although broken by a dhaye, or pond, of considerable size, and excellently adapted for the cultivation of rice, has neither trees nor bushes, with the exception of two or three isolated date-palms surrounding the border of the pond.

We had considerable difficulty in obtaining from

the inhabitants a small supply of rice and butter, as they asserted that their means were so reduced that they were sustaining themselves entirely on býrgu, or native grass; but I had reason to suspect that they made this statement through fear of the Tawárek. At all events, tobacco was the only article they offered for sale, the tobacco of Bamba, called "sherikíye," being far-famed along the Niger, and much sought after, although it is not so good as the "tábowé," the tobacco of E'gedesh. Of býrgu, they have an unlimited supply; and I tasted here the honey water which they prepare from it, but found it insipid, besides being slightly purgative, not unlike the maddi, or góreba water, in Háusa.

## CHAP. LXXVI.

THE DESERT. — COUNTRY ALONG THE BORDER OF THE RIVER. —  
GREATEST NARROWING. — SOUTH-EASTERLY BEND.     \*

A SLIGHT fall of rain, and then a thunder-storm, which, however, passed over our heads without discharging itself, delayed our departure in the afternoon; and the camels having been sent to a great distance for a little pasture, it was past five o'clock when we left our camping-ground. A numerous crowd of Rumá, Songhay, and I'nóshagh having assembled to witness my departure, I distributed a good many small presents among them, reserving the few articles of value which I still possessed for mightier chiefs.

Having crossed, after a march of two miles, a backwater much overgrown with grass, and at present almost dry, we had the fáddama or bot-há of the river close on our right, while the open water was at about an hour's march distance. Here a considerable amount of cultivation was seen, a good many grounds for corn and tobacco being laid out and connected with the river by channels, through which the water during the highest state of the inundation

approached closely, and rendered irrigation very easy ; but unfortunately a heavy thunder-storm, rising in a tremendous battery of clouds, and enveloping the whole country in a dense mass of sand, did not allow of any exact observations being made. The many channels which here intersected our road, proved a disagreeable hindrance in our hurried march, and although the clouds passed by without bringing any rain, yet darkness set in before we had reached our destination, and to my great disappointment prevented my noticing the whole character of the district.

But the inconvenience soon increased when we entered upon the swampy, grassy border of the river ; for although a small fire, on the dry shore to our left, held out to my companions, who were travelling almost without supplies, the prospect of a rather poor supper, a long line of fires in the midst of the river promised them better fare. Without regarding, therefore, the difficulties of the ground and the darkness of the night, we made straight for them. My friends were not even deterred, when we reached a narrow dyke scarcely fit for one horse, and in great decay, and which the guide declared to be the only path leading through a sheet of water separating us from the encampment. Thus, we boldly entered upon this dyke, but we had only proceeded a few hundred yards, when it was pronounced, even by these people, so well accustomed to an amphibious life, to be totally impracticable, so that we were obliged to retrace our steps. While engaged in this most dangerous proceeding, my servant, the

Gatróni, met with a serious accident, falling, with his horse, down the dyke into the water; and although, with his native agility, he succeeded in extricating himself, with a few contusions, from his unpleasant situation, we had great difficulty in getting the horse out from the hollow into which it had fallen, my companions asserting that it was dead, and wanting to leave it behind. At length we got away from the dyke, and finding a ford through the water, we reached the encampment, which was pitched on a narrow neck of grassy land, and completely dazzled us with the glare of its many fires, coming, as we did, out of the darkness. From the opposite side of the river, two hamlets of Songhay, called Inzámmen and Takan-kámte, were visible likewise by their fires.

The encampment belonged to some Kél e' Súk, who manifested a rather thievish disposition; and, although not altogether inhospitable, they were unable to treat my companions well, as in the swampy lowland there was an entire want of firewood. It was one of those encampments which contributed in a great measure to ruin my health, partly in consequence of the heavy dew which fell during the night. Meanwhile my servant, who was a most faithful person, was searching the greater part of the night for his pistols, which in his fall he had lost in the swamp.

Friday,  
May 26th. While my companions still lagged behind in order to indemnify themselves for their lost supper by a good breakfast, I set off at a tolerably early hour, in order to get out of the swampy

ground ; and fearing lest we might again be entangled in these interminable low grounds, we kept at a considerable distance from the river over the gentle sandy downs, bare at first, but afterwards clad with a considerable quantity of dry grass. But some of our companions, who overtook us, would not allow us to pursue our north-easterly direction, and led us back again to the border of a broad swampy sheet of water, which is called Terárart, and at this spot formed a shallow water full of water-plants and geese, but gradually widening to a very extensive swamp, which again increased to a large open branch. The river, however, which was now almost at its lowest level, must present a very different aspect during the highest state of the inundation, when the downs of snow-white sand, which at present separated the principal trunk from the swamp, must appear like a narrow sandbank in the midst of the water.

Behind these downs, but separated from the main branch by a smaller creek, called " the false river," Eghírrëu-n-báho, lies the hamlet E'gedesh, which at the present season was deserted, the inhabitants being scattered over the islands in the river. The three villages Garbáne, E'm-n-Tabórak, and Nshérifen, are situated on its opposite southern bank.

Exchanging at this remarkable spot our east north-easterly direction for an east south-easterly one, we encamped after a march of three miles and a half, in the shade of a dense belt of underwood which girded its shores, and after a short time,

we were here joined by El Bakáy. A little more than a mile beyond this place, at the downs called Ghadí, this large backwater joins the river, and here, when we pursued our march in the afternoon, we ascended for a while a higher level, consisting of sandstone rock in a state of great decomposition; but after a march of three miles, again descended to its shores, the river being here full of green islands, with plenty of fine cattle. Two miles further on, we encamped in a place called Tewílaten, or Stewílaten, at the side of a rather poor encampment of the Kél-Tebankórit. Notwithstanding their poor condition, the people slaughtered two oxen on our behalf.

I had this day still further cause to feel satisfied that we were travelling along the north, and not along the south side of the river, for while we ourselves had but a slight shower, besides summer lightning the whole of the evening, in the course of the afternoon a considerable fall of rain took place beyond the river in A'ribínda.

Before we started I began conversing with the people of the encampment (the chief of whom, a man of renowned valour, is called Hammaláti) in a cheerful manner. Whereupon they praised me as an excellent man, but made at the same time the candid avowal that the preceding night, when I did not speak a word, they felt a great antipathy towards me.

Having proceeded at a tolerable rate as far as this place, we here once more relapsed into our

usual slow mode of progress; and after a short march of scarcely three miles over a ground strewn with pebbles and small stones, and clad only with scanty vegetation, we encamped close to the steep bank which descended towards the river opposite the island of Zamgoy, for here we were told was the residence of Sadáktu, the chief who had levied such heavy contributions upon the inhabitants of Bamba. As the country itself did not present any features of interest, it was some recompense to me for the delay we met with in this place, that the character of the river was remarkable; and in order to enjoy it as much as possible, I prepared myself a resting place on the slope of the bank, which was thickly overgrown with small trees.

It is here that the beginning of the rocky district through which the river takes its course is first perceptible. The western end of a small island is entirely surrounded by large granite blocks, which have given to the island the remarkable name of Tahónt-n-éggish, clearly indicating that even the natives themselves regard this place, for him who comes down the river, as the "entrance-rock," or the beginning of the rocky district.

The island of Zamgoy lies nearer to the southern shore, and seems to be of considerable extent, densely clothed with trees, and containing a small hamlet, or ádabay. Besides the view of the river, and a walk now and then over the desert ground in our neighbourhood, where I observed the ruins of some stone



dwelling, I had plenty of occupation during this and the three following days which we remained here, in conversing with the natives.

Sadaktu himself was very unwell, and greatly wanted my medical assistance; but after I had made him feel the efficacy of my medicines so strongly that he declared every evil to be removed from his body, he did not reward my zeal with so much as a drop of milk. I therefore could not help observing, to the great delight of his subjects, that he was the most niggardly chief I had ever met with. There were, however, others who were more social and communicative, if not more liberal, than this chief. There was, first, a wealthy and good-looking man of the name of Jemil, of the Kél-Burru or the people of Burru, who evidently originate in a mixture of free Songhay people and Imóshagh, and he himself, seemed to unite in a certain degree, the qualities of these different nations, while his rich dress and his *embonpoint* proved that he was not an austere inhabitant of the desert. A great deal of trouble was caused me by another man of the name of Simsim, the son of Sídi A'mmer, and the eldest of seven brothers, a very rich Imóshagh, who was totally blind, but who, nevertheless, expected me to restore his sight; and it really seemed as if my friend El Bakáy confirmed him in this belief, in order to obtain from him some handsome presents for himself.

This person also had the stately appearance pe-

culiar to all these easterly Tawárek, who seem to have enriched themselves with the spoil of the native Songhay population, the latter having in a great measure been reduced by them to the condition of serfs. Almost all of them had a very proud bearing, but nevertheless, upon nearer acquaintance, they proved to be of a very cheerful disposition; and although of a wild character and of warlike propensities, they have an easy temper, and are not difficult to manage.

The poor inhabitants of Bamba, from whom Sada'ktu had taken seventy cows and ten slaves, joined us here, in the endeavour to recover their property. They earnestly begged me to be the mediator between them and that hostile chief; and I was very glad when, after a good deal of dispute, the chief returned half of the spoil. It was here also that I learnt that the whole population of A'ír, under the command of Háj 'Abdúwa, had gained a great victory over the Dínnik, or Awelímmiden-wén-Bodhál, and the Aréwan, of Kél-gerés. The tribe of the Kél-fadáye enjoy a great name in this region; and it is evident that, in former times, they occupied a much more conspicuous position than they do at present. Even El Bakáy himself had taken a wife from that tribe; and I was also informed here that they lay claim to a descent from sherífs.

We had a storm almost every day during our stay in this place; but although we ourselves had very little else than a disagreeable sand-wind, there seemed to

be a very heavy fall of rain in A'ribínda. In one of these thunderstorms we nearly lost our camels, which, headed by one of their companions that had lately come from A'zawád, were making straight for that district, their beloved home, and had proceeded a distance of some miles, before they were overtaken.

Wednesday, At length we pursued our journey, but  
May 31st. only for a short march of two hours; and

I was so disgusted at the repeated delays and sham travelling, that I prayed earnestly that the Almighty would speedily deliver me from this sort of bondage. Throughout our march, the bare desert, here consisting of stony ground, torn by many small channels, closely crept up to the fertile bed of the river, where a green swampy lowland girded the present reduced sheet of water. Amongst the stones with which the ground was covered, fine white and red striped rock was discernible; and I observed another island, with a rocky point, towards the west.

The ground where we encamped was bleak in the extreme, without any shade, although a few hundred yards in front of us there was a fine grove of gerredh; but as these trees adorned a cemetery, my companions, from superstitious motives, were too much afraid to choose that place for their encampment. Although our camping-ground was excessively hot, I was agreeably surprised to find the water of the river so pleasantly cool at a time when the sun was high, and could only attribute this phenomenon to the rocky character of the channel and to its considerable depth.

Nevertheless, crocodiles, as well as river-horses, were numerous.

In this unprotected ground we remained not only this but the following day, although the place was as uncomfortable for the people, who were almost scorched by the heat of the sun, as it was detrimental to the animals, who found nothing to eat here. The Sheikh had gone in the morning to visit Sadáktu, in the island of Zamgoy, and from thence did not join us until late in the evening. It was one of the hottest days we had had; and it was here that, about noon, we discovered in my tent a large, black, poisonous *arachnæa*, or spider, the body of which measured almost two inches in diameter, and whose like my companions from Timbúktu had never seen. The Tawárek were so disgusted at the sight, that while I was looking attentively at it, after we had killed it, they threw it hastily away with their swords, so that I did not see it again; but they told me that it was the most dangerous and abominable creature to be found in these regions.

The excessive heat rendered a thunderstorm which we had in the afternoon of the second day highly acceptable, especially as the heavy gale was followed by a light rain, which greatly relieved the burning heat of the sandy soil. It was highly amusing to me to observe also, this time, that although a large leathern tent had been pitched for the Sheikh, nevertheless, as was always the case when a thunderstorm arose, everybody hastened to carry his treasures, especially the

saddles and books, under cover of my small European tent, which had now withstood more than four years' exposure to the weather, and was mended and patched in such a manner that the original material was scarcely discernible.

Friday, We at length left this place, but only to  
June 2nd. move on a distance of seven or eight miles, to an encampment of a wealthy man of the name of Sidi I'lemín, who, although not belonging to the tribe of the Fúlbe, was living amongst the Tawárek, and had been settled in the place for a great many years. The contrast between the open river, bordered by the green grassy lowlands, which at present had been laid bare by the retiring waters, and the bleak desert which closely approached it, was very remarkable, especially a short distance before we reached the encampment, where an extensive sandy eminence excluded for a while the view of the river, and with a few scattered bushes of the poisonous fernán, and the short herbage called "ellob," made one fancy oneself transported into the heart of the desert.

Along the former part of our road the low shore of the river had been clothed with a profusion of excellent býrgu, but here there was none, and the poor camels again fared very badly. In the whole of this district along the river, where trees are very scanty, the camel is reduced to the diet of býrgu, although it by no means agrees with animals accustomed to the food of the young acácia trees and the dry herbage of the desert. All circumstances con-

sidered, my camels were in a very bad condition, and there was good reason for my kind friend and protector looking about for some fresh animals to enable me to reach more favoured regions. He therefore determined to set out from this point to the nearest of his "kissib," or herds of camels, while we were to wait for him at a place called Tin-sherífen.

The river, which, in its present state, was about 900 yards from our camp, had here a very shallow, and not at all an imposing appearance, although a few miles below it enters a very rocky district, where it is enclosed by steep banks and broken by islets and cliffs. Four boats were lying on the shore. The place was called Igómaren.

The encampment of Sídí Ílemín was large, consisting of very spacious leathern tents, where Tawárek and Fúlbe, and some Arabs also, were living together in peaceful community. Although they are tolerably wealthy, they have only asses, and no horses. A good many Tawárek joined us here the day of our arrival, and, while I rewarded the most respectable amongst them with a small present of some kind or other, I had some difficulty in satisfying a more powerful lord of the name of Míki, the son of Elésa; and found it still more difficult to satisfy his companion, or "énhad," who, as is very often the case in Europe, raised his pretensions much higher than his master.

The blind Simsim also accompanied us to this place, and troubled me not a little with begging a remedy for his blindness. Among other chiefs,

there was one whose name seemed to me rather remarkable, as he called himself El I'sfaháni; but what he or his ancestors had to do with the famous town of I'sfahán, I could not make out. Sídi I'lemín treated us well with a number of large dishes of rice, but the food being prepared without any salt, I was not able to enjoy it, and was the more grateful at being furnished in the evening with a rich supply of milk.

Saturday,  
June 3rd.

While my protector directed his steps towards the desert, I, with the greater part of his followers, continued my journey along the banks of the river, which had now almost become a second home to me, and with its many backwaters, islands, and cliffs, afforded me a never failing source of interest. About half a mile beyond our encampment we passed the site of a former settlement or dwelling place, after which the sandy downs receded a little from the bank, affording comfortable ground for a good number of Tawárek encampments. Having then left on our right an extensive swampy lowland, which, during the highest state of the river, becomes inundated, we reached the beginning of the rocky district, through which the river has to pass. After a very short march, we encamped in a place called Himberímme, on account of the indisposition of my friend Mohammed ben Khottár.

The slope where we halted was very handsomely adorned with fine shady tabórak, and the river was here free from rocks, being divided into two branches by a low sand bank, while a mile higher up a mighty

ledge of granite rocks projected into the water. But about 1000 yards below our halting place, the river presented a very wild aspect, a considerable rocky island, consisting of immense granite blocks, together with a rocky ledge projecting from the high bank, shutting in half the breadth of the river, and forcing it, with a direction from S. 30° E. to N. 30° W., into a channel of probably not more than 350 yards broad. This remarkable place, where the river, when it is full, must form a very powerful current, is called Tin-álshiden.

The heat of the day having passed by, we continued our march, cutting off the bend of the river over a ground which was at first bare and destitute of vegetation, but after a while became overgrown with stunted talha trees, a few siwák, and a great profusion of retem; till, after a march of two miles, the river again approached on our right, being here free from rocks and bordered by a grassy lowland richly clad with the famous býrgu. On our left, a few tobacco plantations gave proof of a certain degree of industry on the part of the natives, although on this side only a nomadic encampment was to be seen, but on the opposite bank a hamlet appeared. The whole of this district belongs to Tin-sherífen.

As the river takes here a very winding course, meandering along between steep banks, we again left it at some distance on our right, ascending from a low swampy inlet upon higher ground, where we passed another Tawárek encampment, and then, as darkness



was setting in, we again descended to the green shore, where the river seemed to be obstructed by islands. Parallel with the bank, a shallow grassy swamp stretched along, and from beyond the southern bank, a little higher up, a village was seen. On the largest of the islands, which was at the same time the nearest to our side, was the residence of Kára, the father of a young man named Sála, one of the pupils of El Bakáy. This was the reason why my companions, notwithstanding the darkness of the evening, and although the island was at present separated from the mainland by a deep channel, entertained the absurd idea of crossing over to the latter. It was only after much uncertainty, and a great deal of dispute, that we decided upon encamping on the narrow neck between the swamp and the river.

In this place we remained the four following days, my protector not returning until the third day, and my patience was again put to a severe trial. But, altogether, the stay here was not so uninteresting, as we received a great many visits from the inhabitants of this and the neighbouring districts. First, there came Kára, the governor of the island, a stately-looking old man, dressed in a fine white robe, with a white shawl round his head. Having entered into conversation with me, he stated, without the subject being brought forward by myself, that about fifty years ago, a Christian had come down the river in a large boat with a white tent, and the river being then full, had passed without any accident the rocky passage ahead of us. But he added that the Kél-terárart had attacked him

at Zamgoy. Park had passed this place in the morning, while he (Kára) was encamped with his people on the sandy downs of A'ribínda. This chief himself, although he was not at all hospitable, had really something in his demeanour which might indicate a descent from a nobler stock, but the rest of the inhabitants of the island had much the same appearance as the less noble tribes of the Tawárek in general. However, there is no doubt that the name of the whole district, Tin-sherifen, is taken from the supposed origin of these people—from sherífs. And here in this district, as well as in the neighbouring one of Burrum, where the great river, after having made this remarkable bend into the heart of the desert, changes its easterly course into a south-easterly one, we must evidently look for the earliest Mohammedan settlers along the Niger.

I here also first came into more intimate relation with that remarkable tribe the Kél e' Súk, who seem to deserve a great deal of attention among these nomadic tribes, although I am not yet able to elucidate all the points connected with their history, for they themselves take very little interest in historical facts, and if there exist written records they are not generally known. But this much is certain, that these Kél e' Súk have been so called from a place, Súk, or at least generally called Súk\*, situated at the distance

\* The reader need not be under the impression that the name "súk" indicates Arabic influence, for the word is of the most extensive Semitic range.

of five days' journey from this point, and six from Gógó, which seems to have been a very considerable place in former times, but was destroyed in the latter half of the fifteenth century, by Sonni 'Alí, the great predecessor of the still greater conqueror Háj Mohammed A'skiá. The original name of this place I did not succeed in making out, but it is no doubt that very place which, by El Bekrí\* and other Arab geographers, after the name of the tribe, has been called Tademékket, and which, till the middle of the seventeenth century, ruled over this region.

This large and well-built town appears to have been the centre of various tribes, although I can scarcely conceive that my informants were right, when they asserted that their ancestors had been living there, together with the Hogár and the Kél-owí, as from this statement, if it were true, we should have in this place a much more remarkable example of a community founded by several Berber tribes together, than is afforded by the history of A'gades. Be this as it may, the name of Súk has settled upon this tribe, who still form quite a separate body, being distinguished from the neighbouring tribes for their learning and peaceable pursuits.

\* El Bekrí, who is the only reliable authority, in the edition of de Slane, p. 181, *et seq.* The distance of nine days from Gógó, according to El Bekrí, is to be regarded as the rate for heavily laden caravans, corresponding well to six days of light camels or mehára. See the itinerary from Tawát to this place, in the Appendix. Of the (erroneous) derivation of the name of the town, I have spoken on a former occasion. See Vol. IV. p. 498.

Besides several respectable men of this tribe, I received a visit also from Nássaru, a daughter of one of their chiefs named Khozématen. She was one of the finest women that I saw in this country. Her decent apparel contributed not a little to increase her beauty, for over her under-gown she wore an upper-garment of red and black silk, in alternate stripes, which she occasionally drew over her head. Her features were remarkable for their soft expression and regularity, but her person rather inclined to corpulency, which is highly esteemed by the Tawárek. Seeing that I took an interest in her, she, half-jokingly, proposed that I should marry her; and I declared myself ready to take her with me if one of my rather weak camels should be found able to support her weight. As a mark of distinction I presented her with a looking-glass, which I was always accustomed to give to the most handsome woman in an encampment, the rest receiving nothing but needles. She returned the next day with some of her relations, who were equally distinguished by their comeliness, and who were anxious to obtain a glimpse of me, not less than of the Sheikh El Bakáy. These noble Tawárek ladies furnished a remarkable example of the extreme liberty which the females belonging to this tribe enjoy; and I was greatly astonished to see the pipe pass continually from their mouths to those of the men, and from the latter back again into the mouths of the women. In other respects, I can only hope that they surpass the female portion

of the population of Tademékka, of whose virtue El Bekrí speaks in rather doubtful terms.

Less agreeable than the company of these people was the arrival of the blind Simsim, who, it seems, had been rather disappointed in his expectation of having his sight restored, although my friend had contrived to get from him a present of a camel and a female slave. We were here also at length joined by A'hmed Wadáwi, the principal pupil of the Sheikh, whom I scarcely expected to see again; but being fully aware of the slow and deliberate character of his master, he felt convinced that he could never come too late. Altogether I was glad that he had arrived, for although apt to make great pretensions, and being inspired with too great zeal for his creed, he was nevertheless a cheerful and good-natured man, and, on account of his considerable learning and his knowledge of the Tawárek chiefs, might be of great service to me after having separated from the Sheikh. He had, besides, acquired some useful experience with regard to the difference between the straightforward and trustworthy character of a Christian, and the treachery and cunning of an Arab; for having in the beginning constantly taken the part of my former guide, Weled A'mmer Waláti, against myself, he had been cheated in return for his friendship by that rascal, and in order to get from him what was due to him, had been obliged to pursue him to A'ribínda. He brought the news from Timbúktu that the rebel chief A'khbi, whom we had been unable to persuade to return to

his former allegiance, was collecting an army against Alkúttabu. •

The whole time of our stay at Tin-sherífen the weather was excessively hot, the heat being felt the more severely, as there was not the slightest shade near our encampment; and as my tent was almost insupportably hot, in order to obtain a little shade, I wandered to a considerable distance up the slope which rose behind our encampment, and here lay down under a small hájilíj, or tabórak. From this spot I had an interesting view over the river, which, on account of its peculiar features, here deserved my full attention, and even more than I was able at the time to bestow upon it, as, in the absence of my protector, my companions were rather anxious about my safety. My young and cheerful friend, Mohammed ben Khot-tár, was suffering all this time from severe indisposition, so that I had no one to rove about with me. A little lower down, the road recedes from the bank of the river for a short distance; and hence I am not able to lay down the river, between this place and Tósaye, with that minuteness of detail which it deserves, in order to facilitate navigation. Under other circumstances, I should have made a special drawing of this remarkable locality on a larger scale; but the assertion of the natives, that Park in his large boat (His Majesty's schooner Joliba) had passed through in December or January without accident, reassured me perfectly. Besides, as I myself had to travel all along the bank of the river by

land, I had to take care not to excite too much the suspicions of the natives. \*

From this spot I had a clear prospect over the point where the river issuing forth from between the islands is shut in by two masses of rock, called, I think, Shabór\* and Barrór, which obstructed it like a sort of iron gate, although the passage between them, especially at high water, appeared to be open and clear. In summer, however, during the lowest state of the river, the difficulty of the navigation is greatly increased by the sandbank which is formed a little above this strait between the islands and the bank. On the island where the chief Kála resided, also, a mass of rock, which at times in the sun light of the afternoon appeared like a snow-white boulder of quartz rock, started forth like an artificial terrace. Higher up, the river was encompassed in its winding course by steep banks; but, in one spot on the opposite shore, where the sandy downs formed a recess, a low grassy headland or island was formed, which at the time was enlivened by numbers of horses, cattle, and sheep, and was adorned by stately trees, especially a fine group of dúm-palms; for dúm-palms apparently begin to prevail here, and lower down the river are found occasionally in great numbers. The slope itself, from whence I overlooked this scenery, consisted entirely of rock. Quartz and mica-slate were visible everywhere, and an uninterrupted

\* I am not quite certain whether Shabór may not be the name of the island and not of the rock.

ledge of the latter mineral set right across with an inclination towards east. The evenings were beautiful, and nothing afforded me greater delight than to walk along the fine sandy beach far into the river. During the lowest state of the water, this beach forms a junction between the main land and the island where Kála resided.

Our attention was also attracted to some young zangway, the small species of alligator, which every evening raised their cry from the swamp where they were left by their dams. It sounds like the barking of a dog, and it appeared to us as if they were bred purposely in this backwater, in order that they might not fall a prey to some larger animal in the river.



## CHAP. LXXVII.

TÓSAÏE, OR THE NARROWING OF THE RIVER. — BURRUM; ANCIENT  
RELATION TO EGYPT. — GREAT SOUTH-SOUTH-EASTERLY REACH.

AT length, in the course of the 8th, my protector returned from his herd of camels, or, as the Arabs call it, "kissib," bringing with him seven fresh camels. He was accompanied by a nobleman of the country, and a near relative of his, of the name of Sídi 'Alí. Soon after his arrival, he came expressly to ask me, whether one of our steamboats would be able to cross this rocky passage, and I told him that, as far as I had been able to investigate the character of the locality from this point, I thought there was not much difficulty for a small boat or launch, at least during the highest state of the river. In the evening, he sent me a small bullock to cut up for our journey, and a short time afterwards a camel, in order to supply the place of the most exhausted of my animals, and it now appeared as if we were fully prepared to pursue our journey at a more accelerated rate.

Friday,  
June 9th.

Having taken leave of all the new friends whose acquaintance I had made here, I

started at a rather late hour, first keeping along the shore, but after having proceeded about 1400 yards, turning away and with a north-easterly direction entering the stony slope of the desert plateau, which here consisted of black sandstone in a state of decomposition. At this spot, where I was obliged to keep away from the bank, the great rocky ledge, to which Barrór belongs, crosses the river. This rock not being illumined to-day by the sun, exhibited the same black character which is peculiar to the whole locality, and there is no doubt that it intercepts the navigation for larger boats during a great part of the year.

The bare rocky slope was succeeded by sandy downs, which surrounded and enclosed small irregular vales, the bottom of which was formed of small black stones. A little further on we passed the locality called Tin-rassen, where Sadáktu had once vanquished a superior force led by A'khbi, who, notwithstanding the close relation which subsisted between them, had come to attack him. The women, hurrying forth from the encampment, had met their kinsfolk with bare breasts, which they held forth to them as having suckled their kindred, and implored them, for the sake of their near relationship, not to shed the blood of their own kinsmen. But this appeal for mercy being without effect, Sadáktu and his handful of men, inspired with fear for the lives of their wives and children, and fighting with the courage of despair, had beaten the superior force of his arrogant relation, and killed nine free men of his tribe.

A little more than half a mile beyond Tin-râssen we again reached the river, at that remarkable place called Tósaye, or Tósé, where the noble Niger is compressed between steep banks to a breadth perhaps of not more than 150 yards, but of such a depth that, as I have before observed, the bottom has not been found by the natives. Here the Sheikh, who, as in general, had slept till late in the morning, overtook us, and seemed much interested when I told him that I thought a small strong built steamer might safely cross this obstructed passage, as in the case of the current being too strong, it might be assisted by chains fastened to the rocks. The locality is of the greatest importance, on account of the intercourse between the desert and the province of Libtáko, as the Arabs of A'zawád in general prefer crossing the river at this point, which, although very deep, is easily passed by the camels and cattle, while in other places they have to swim for miles.

Immediately beyond this narrowing of the river the sandy downs cease, and a low stony level, of black, dismal colour, stretched out before us. The river, winding along this tract in a north-easterly bend, and illumined by the dazzling light of the sun, scarcely appeared to be the same large and noble stream which I had admired higher up. The black stony ground was torn by several small channels, and being only sparingly clad with the sad-looking poisonous bush the "fernán," exhibited a very melancholy appearance. But gradually as we descended

from this rough ground upon the green shore, clothed with the rank grass of the býrgu, the river again began to widen, and to assume its former noble character, while a little further on a large island, called "A'dar-n-háut," was formed, separated from the main land by a narrow channel. We encamped opposite the place where the latter again joins the principal branch, and where, in the present low state of the river, a ledge of rock was seen projecting a considerable distance into the water, and numerous isolated cliffs starting forth from its middle course. I chose my camping-ground a few hundred yards from the shore, among the trees, where we found some shelter during the hot hours of the day; and I even remained here during the following night, although all the people tried to frighten me with the assurance, that the lions which infest the neighbourhood would not leave a bone of my horses and camels.

We were visited in this encampment by the inhabitants of the opposite island, who, although belonging to the mixed tribe of the Rumá, have a much better appearance than their brethren in Bamba. Their chief, of the name of Mohammed, was greatly distinguished by his fine glossy skin, his beautiful black and lively eyes, and his regular Circassian features. The dress of these people, however, is everywhere the same,—white shirts of the commonest and coarsest make, sewed together of narrow strips (only persons of higher rank adorn them with a little silk embroidery), and long white trowsers,

besides a miserable bandage of native cotton tied round the head, over which some of them wore another bandage of red cloth. All of them had slung over their shoulders the open leathern belt with which they gird their waists in case of emergency. The intelligence of these people seemed very limited, and it was impossible for me to enter into any serious conversation with them. I was, however, fortunately enabled to buy some rice with cotton strips.

Saturday,  
June 10th. As if I was destined to spend my whole life in this region, we this day only moved on three miles, keeping close along the shore of the river, which here formed several islands, and gradually took a more southerly direction. The whole of this part of the river, the valley of which, including the islands, measures certainly more than three miles in breadth, is called Burrum, and was formerly one of the chief seats of the Songhay. There is a remarkable tradition that a Pharaoh once came from Egypt to this spot, and again returned. This story would at least imply an early intercourse with Egypt, and should not, I think, be viewed incredulously; for, if it had no foundation whatever, it would certainly attach to the capital of the nation itself, and not to a place which possesses no great historical importance. But on the other hand it is highly interesting to observe, that this is the spot where the great river, which here makes a bend from a west-easterly into a southerly direction, is nearest to Egypt. Let it be fur-

ther taken into account, that the inhabitants of the oasis of Aújila, which lies on the great commercial road from Egypt to these regions, were the first who opened this western part of Negroland to the intercourse of the Arabs. The whole history of Songhay points to Egypt; the itinerary of the route of the Nasamones, if rightly constructed, inclines to this quarter; and it is easily to be understood how Herodotus\*, on receiving the news that so large a river was running eastward, in such a northerly latitude as nearly 18°, could conceive the opinion that this was the Upper Nile. Even in more modern times, we find Egyptian merchants established from the eleventh century in the town of Bíru, or Waláta, side by side with those of Ghadámes and Tafilélet; the principal commerce of Gággho and Kúkia was directed towards Egypt, and the large commercial entrepôt—Súk—of the tribe of the Tademékka, about one hundred miles from Burrum, on that great highroad, was evidently founded for that purpose.

Formerly there were three villages, containing a considerable population, till about eleven years ago† the Fúlbe, under the command of 'Abd Alláhi, the uncle of the present ruler of Másina, who at that time was a very energetic and warlike chieftain, made an expedition to this place with about 6000 horse, and 20,000 foot, while the whole of the Tawárek, the

\* Book ii. chap. xxxii. τὴν ὁδὸν ποιευμένους πρὸς ζέφυρον ἄνεμον.

† This passage was written in 1854.

Awelímmiden, Igwádaren, and Tademékket, collected together near Tóndibi, did not dare to offer them open battle. Destroying, then, those villages of Burrum, the Fúlbe transferred the whole population, consisting of nearly 4000 people, into the neighbourhood of Gúndam.

A good deal of rice is here cultivated; the cultivation of that article in this region being said to have proceeded from this very locality, a fact which is of the greatest interest as regards the ancient intercourse with Egypt. Even now, those among the rest of the inhabitants of Burrum who belong to the Tawárek tribe of the Tademékket, are distinguished for their wealth and their more refined manners; and I here made the acquaintance of two eminent men among them, named E'nnas and Gedéma, the latter particularly remarkable for his corpulency.

At the place where we chose our encampment, the low grassy shore was greatly compressed, a steep bank of black sandstone rising to about thirty feet elevation close behind us, and forming at the top a flat level, strewn with black pebbles, which, if a person turned his back to the river, offered almost the same view as the most dreary part of the waste; but as soon as one directed one's eyes southward, the picture was entirely reversed;—a magnificent stream, studded with rich grassy islands, and affording the most refreshing breeze, appeared in sight.

The Sheikh had so many dealings with the inha-

bitants of the islands opposite our encampment, that he was obliged to stay here several days; but in order to satisfy me, he made us move on a little. However, we only proceeded for about the distance of a mile, leaving this steep rocky bank behind us, the ground remaining stony, clad with nothing but small stunted trees. Here we encamped again near the border of the green shore, where alone the soil was soft enough to admit the pegs, opposite a long sandbank, which was the resort of numerous flocks of white waterfowl. Of course this sort of progress did not exactly suit my wishes, and in order to soothe my discontent, El Bakáy, soon after we had encamped, paid me a long visit, in order to cheer me up, telling me that he had heard that there really had been, as I conjectured myself, a letter from Háj Beshír, with my parcel, and enumerating those of his pupils, or télamíd, whom he wanted to send along with me.

There being no stated market-place all along this river, the buying of provisions is sometimes accompanied with a great deal of trouble; and although the only produce of this district is rice, that article is never to be obtained in a prepared state. Nothing but kókesh, that is to say, rice in the husk, is procurable; and this is a circumstance not to be overlooked by Europeans who attempt the navigation of this river, as they must always be prepared to lose some time in getting ready and cleaning their rice. I here bought the néffeka of this kind of rice for two



dra of tári, equal to forty shells. Butter fetched twenty dra per néffeka.

During our two days' stay in this place, I received some valuable information from some Arabs of the tribe of the Welád Molúk, who were settled in A'ri-bínda, that is to say, on the southern bank of the river, and kept up a small trade with Libtáko, which is distant from here about ten days' march. The river being here so broad, it did not at all surprise me to hear from these people that in average years, during the lowest state of the river, it is fordable in several places.

Far more interesting than the visit of these mixed Berbers was that of a man called Mohammed, who, with eight companions was on his way from Gógó, his native place, to Bamba by water, in a middle-sized boat; thus proving that the water communication between those places was still kept up, notwithstanding the total political ruin of the country, and that, too, at the present season of the year, when the water was at its very lowest. He was a wealthy man, belonging to the mulatto stock of the Rumá, and spoke only Songhay. He also brought me the latest news from the districts farther eastward, and I was glad to hear that, owing to the rebel army of Zabérma having been beaten by the governor of Támkala, the road by Say was open.

Tuesday,  
June 18th.

Having had a thunder-storm during the latter part of the night, with a heavy squall of wind, but without rain, we started at a rather late

hour along the grassy shore, which gradually becomes lower and is filled with numerous small ponds ; till, after proceeding a little more than a mile, rocky ground began to rise to the surface on our left. It soon assumed the form of steep cliffs, rising to the height of about 120 feet ; but although during the inundation it is closely approached by the river, at present a narrow passage was left along the green shore. A heavy gale raised the waves of the river to a considerable height ; but the sky was so overcast and enveloped in fog that nothing of the opposite shore was to be discovered.

Numerous small torrents had intersected the cliffs, while a thick bush of an unknown species lined the foot of them. A little further on, while slightly decreasing in height, the rocks became more regularly stratified, presenting numerous crevices and caverns.

Having then passed a place where the cliffs formed a deep recess, the low grassy shore extending far into the river, we were obliged to ascend the higher level for a while, an open branch coming close up to the foot of the rocks. We however descended again after a little more than half a mile, near two magnificent sycamores, and encamped at 11 o'clock in the midst of a dense growth of dúm-bushes, while the Sheikh himself pitched his tent on the top of the downs, near an encampment of Kél-tenákse, a division of the Kél e' Súk, to whom belonged also another encampment upon an island in the river.

The sandy shore, thickly covered with dúm-bush, was represented to us as the retreat of numerous lions, and we were warned not to encamp here; but we preferred exposing ourselves to this slight danger, as the strong wind did not allow us to pitch our tents on the top of the downs. We had scarcely made ourselves comfortable, when a great multitude of people belonging to the different tribes settled in the neighbourhood,—Tawárek, Kél e' Súk, Rumá, and Songhay gathered round us. Many of them had fine features, while others bore distinctly the African character. The Kél e' Súk, who seemed to presume upon their learning, scanty as it was, brought forward their religious prejudices, and I had a sharp disputation with them.

The whole of this district still belongs to Burrum. The Rumá seemed to have also a hamlet of their own in this tract on an island in the river, and appeared to be tolerably well off. A great deal of rice is cultivated hereabouts. I bought some, and had it pounded by two females, one of whom, during her work laughed and made merry almost without interruption, while her companion, who was of a more sullen temper, rendered herself guilty of theft, but was caught in the fact.

Almost all the slaves of these Tawárek wear nothing but a leathern dress, that of the females consisting only of a long apron, while the males very often provide themselves with a tight shirt or kilt of the same material.

From all that I observed, I must conclude that the state of the morals of these Tawárek slaves is very low, particularly those of the Kél e' Súk. The latter were formerly the inhabitants of fixed settlements on the borders of the desert, where a great deal of foreign commerce centred, and have thence contracted manners which were strange to their origin. But we must remember that from the most ancient times prostitution, as a proof of hospitality, has been in practice among various Berber tribes of North Africa.

Having staid here during the forenoon, we started late in the day. My protector Wednesday,  
June 14th. remained behind in order to settle some business, while I proceeded in advance with the most trustworthy of his pupils, first keeping close along the river, which here seemed to be of considerable depth quite near the shore, but further on turning away to some distance from it, through the plain, which was here well clad with small talha trees. Thus, after a march of about four miles from our former encampment, we ascended sandy downs, behind which a broad belt of swampy meadow ground stretched along at a distance of more than two miles from the river itself. The higher level soon became more rocky, being strewn with black pebbles, between which numerous footprints of the giraffe were visible. It was pleasantly undulating, a ledge of sandstone and calcareous rock intersecting it like a wall. Having

here heard from a shepherd who was watering his flock at a small pond formed by the recent fall of rain, that *there was an encampment* at some distance, we gave to our course a more southerly direction, and soon reached a village lying at the very brink of the steep bank of the river, consisting of huts, and inhabited conjointly by some Arabs of the tribe of the Bú'Alí, and some poorer members of the tribe of the Kél e' Súk. The huts consisted of matting, and were very clean and well ventilated, each of them having two doors, one on the north and another on the south side, both of moderate dimensions.

It was late in the evening when we arrived here, and there being an entire want of trees, we had great difficulty in obtaining a little firewood; nor was there any good býrgu for the horses, the river, which here divided into two branches, being too deep to allow this rank grass, which prefers the swampy lowlands, to grow to any extent. The poverty of the inhabitants, also, could not at all satisfy the wants of my companions, who were very fond of a good supper; hence El Bakáy himself, who was well aware of this circumstance, had passed this locality, and, notwithstanding the lateness of the hour, directed his steps to another encampment further on. This was also the reason of our following day's march being limited to a few hundred yards. We thus exchanged our encampment at Isábegen for that of El Bakáy's at Asákan Imbégge; but the change was by no means advanta-

geous to us, as the high level presented here a most dreary aspect, being almost totally destitute of trees or shrubs. The border of the river, however, bore a very different character, and the swampy lowland extended to a great distance, intersected by a dead water which at present had no connection with the river. The profusion of herbage which grew in this locality enabled me to buy here a good supply of butter, although the country in general appeared to be very bleak. A large island, also, is formed in the river, which is inhabited by Songhay, and called E'ha. The previous afternoon, we had observed ahead of us, to the east, a mountain chain called A'seghárbu, and we now saw it more distinctly, stretching from east to west  $15^{\circ}$  south.

We had scarcely pitched our tents, when we were visited by a great number of Tawárek of the tribe of the Tin-ger-égedesh, who were encamped at a short distance with their chiefs Amárc and Sadáktu. They were distinguished by their noble countenance and superior style of dress, and in both respects resembled the Tarabanása, whose enemies they are. Most of them wore black tobes, the black alternately interchanging with a white band; and I counted not less than fifty of them, all decent-looking men. After a while I became very good friends with them, although the commencement of our intercourse was rather awkward. They had had some dealings with Mungo Park, whose policy it was to fire at any one who approached him in a threaten-

ing attitude\* ; and having lost some of their tribe by his well-directed balls, they kept at first at some distance from me, viewing me with a rather suspicious and malevolent eye. But when they observed that I had entered into cheerful conversation with some of their party, they convinced themselves that I did not belong to the class of wild beasts, or "táwakast;" for such, from the reception they had met with from Park, they had supposed all Europeans to be. I even, to my great astonishment, found here, with one of the Kél e' Súk, the life of Bruce, published by Murray in 1835, and which most probably had been the property of Davidson, the Kél e' Súk having brought it from A'zawád, where it had been taken by Hámma, a younger brother of El Bakáy, who, about the time of Davidson's journey, had paid a visit to Tawát and the country of the 'Arib. It was almost complete, only ten leaves being wanting, and I bought it for three

\* It was this policy of Mungo Park, which he no doubt adopted much against his own inclination, that inspired Major Laing, when he heard of it in Tawát, with such ominous dread of the fate which might await himself. In one of his letters which I had the opportunity of inspecting through the kindness of General Sabine, he exclaims, after having mentioned that he met a Tárki who had been wounded by Mungo Park :—"How imprudent, how unthinking! I may even say how selfish was it in Park, to attempt to make discoveries in this country at the expense of the blood of the inhabitants, and to the exclusion of all after communication; how unjustifiable was such conduct!" It was on this account that Major Laing sent back the sailors whom he had with him, and almost gave up his design of navigating the river below Timbúktu.

benáig, or strips of indigo-died cotton. It had been used as a talisman, an Arabic charm having been added to it.

Here, as in general, I allayed the suspicions of the people and made them more familiar by showing them some pictures of men of various tribes. Notwithstanding the great distance which separated my tent from the encampment, none of the women remained behind, all being anxious to have a look at this curious and novel exhibition; and having been sent about their business when they came in the day-time, they again returned towards night in such numbers that my people, being anxious for the safety of my small tent, which became endangered by these unwieldy creatures, endeavoured to frighten them away with powder. But all was in vain; they would not stir till they had seen the pictures, which, in accordance with the disposition of each, excited their great delight or amazement. My custom, which I have mentioned before, of honouring the handsomest woman in every encampment with a looking-glass, created here a great struggle for the honour; but I was so unfortunate as to hurt the feelings of a mother by giving the prize of beauty to her daughter, who was rather a handsome person.

We remained here the following day, when we had, in the morning, a considerable fall of rain, which lasted several hours, and drenched the Sheikh and his followers in their leathern tent, while my old and worn white bell tent, pitched in this open hammáda, with-



rain beautifully, to the great astonishment  
Awárek, who all came, soon after the rain  
was over, to see if I had not been swamped in my  
frail dwelling, which, before, they had looked upon  
with contempt.

I had afterwards a very important controversy  
with the Sheikh's people, in which I had to make use  
of all my energy in order to carry out my intention  
of following up the shores of the river; for the Kél e'  
Súk wanted to persuade the Sheikh to enter here the  
open desert, and to make straight for the encampment  
of their chief, Khozématen, who, they said, would  
provide me with everything necessary for my further  
journey. They were seconded in their endeavour  
by all the eloquence of A'hmed Wadáwi, El Bakáy's  
favourite pupil, who asserted that, after the heavy  
rains that had fallen, the desert afforded plenty  
of herbage for the horses. But I opposed these  
arguments in the most determined manner, assuring  
the Sheikh that, even if he should go, I would not,  
but that I should pursue my route straight along  
the river; and, in order to make an impression on  
his mind, I reminded him of the distinct promise  
which he had given me of conducting me to Gógó.  
The Sheikh, then seeing that I was firm, adhered  
to his word, and it was therefore decided that a  
message should be sent to the chiefs of the Kél e'  
Súk, to the effect that they were to meet us in Gógó,  
while we continued our march along the river.

Thus we left this cheerless camping-ground in the

afternoon, and soon descended by a gradual inclination from the higher desert tract, which, however, after the heavy rain that had fallen in the morning, was full of pools of stagnant water. We then passed several encampments, till we reached the low grassy shore of the river, when the high ground on our left was intersected by several dry watercourses, and obliged us, although only for a short time, to exchange the green bottom for the rocky slope at a place where a branch of the river, which approached closely, was full of crocodiles.

Entering then an open grassy plain intersected by several channels, and making our way with difficulty through this swampy ground, called Erárar, we reached about dark an encampment of Kél e' Súk, at the border of an open branch of the river, which was here about 400 yards broad. The locality was called 'Tabórak, though not a single tree was to be seen hereabouts; the whole district is here still called E'ha. The open river afforded a very pleasant sight, as, during the last few days, I had seen nothing but swampy creeks. Towards the south-east, the watery plain was bounded by Mount Tóndibi, which juts out into the river in the shape of a promontory of considerable elevation. The locality, however, was so very unhealthy, that I could not long enjoy the fresh air outside, but was obliged to retire into my tent at an early hour.

On leaving our camping-ground in the morning, we had to cross two small creeks, and

Saturday,  
June 17th.

then keeping along the swampy plain, soon got entangled in a larger sheet of water, which stretched along the foot of Mount Tóndibi, and appeared to intercept our passage. We therefore thought it better to get out of the swampy ground, which here was full of water covered with water lilies, and to ascend the sandy downs, where we passed another ámazagh of the Tin-ger-égedesh. There is no doubt that this swampy plain, for several months of the year, presents one uninterrupted sheet of water. Thus we ascended the northerly offshoots of Mount Tóndibi, which formed undulating sandy downs, stretching forth from the foot of the rocky mount, and richly clad with dúmbush; but we soon passed them, and descended again on the other side into the grassy swampy plain, at present dry, but intersected by a creek every now and then. The river was at a considerable distance.

A mile beyond, we reached an encampment of the Kél e' Súk, consisting of reed huts, and at the instigation of the Wadáwi, in the absence of the Sheikh, made a halt and unloaded our camels, when we suddenly received counter-orders, and reloading our camels with great alacrity, proceeded on our march. The plain was here intersected by several winding channels, where we observed numerous herds of cattle and flocks of sheep belonging to the slaves of Khozématen, who, like all the Tawárek, were about to leave the river, and to enter the region of the desert, and the mountainous tract of A'derár, where, in

consequence of the rains, fresh herbage was springing up.\*

Here we ascended the sandy downs, keeping close along the green border of the bot-há, and passing two small encampments, till we descended again from the rising ground into the green bed of the valley, which was here about three miles broad, and richly overgrown with daman-kádda interspersed between the dúm-bush, with which the small isolated sandy downs were adorned, besides a little "áshur," tursha, or *Asclepias*. But we soon received another serious warning not to trust to this low swampy ground, for we suddenly observed a considerable sheet of water, which seemed to be connected with the principal river extending in front of us, so that we were obliged to regain the higher ground.

While riding a while by myself, I was much amused in observing our motley troop, consisting of about thirty individuals, some mounted on horses, riding singly or in pairs, others on camels, others again toiling along on foot, some armed with guns, and some with spears, and all in different attire, moving along this low swampy ground, where it rose a few

\* I here subjoin a list of the names of the most celebrated wells and pasture grounds of A'derár, some of which were at a former period, the sites of wealthy towns :—Amúsin, A'rába, Tin-darán, Yúnhan or Gúnhan, Súk or e' Súk, Ijenshíshen, A'zel-adár, Kídal, a very fine district; É'n-déshedáit, Taghelíb, Marret, Talábit, Tadakkét, A'sway, An-emellen, An-sáttefen, Asheróbbak, Tin-záwaten, Tájemart, Eléwi, Dohendal, Tin-ajóla, E'n-rar, Ejárak, A'shu, A'kit, Takelhút, Dafelliúna, E'n-áfara.

feet above the deepest bottom, and was well lined with bush. It being then noon, the sun was very powerful, and when we reached the drier ground the heat became very troublesome. My companions *therefore* were well pleased when we reached a village of the Songhay, or rather of that division of them which is called Ibawájiten or Ibáujiten, hoping that they should be able to get some refreshment; but the Songhay, now that they have lost almost all their national independence, and are constantly exposed to all sorts of contributions, are inhospitable in the extreme; and they pointed out to us the encampment of their chief at a considerable distance along the river, where we were to look for quarters. The whole district is called Abúba.

Following the example of my companions, who were lightly laden and not very cautious, I was induced once more to enter the swampy grounds; and, being obliged to cross two boggy channels, we regained with difficulty the sandy downs, which were enlivened with three separate groups of dúm-palms, which adorned a cemetery. Here we encamped in a small field, enclosed with fernán, but at present empty, the locality being called Fágoná.

The situation on these high downs was so conspicuous, that my tent, being visible at a great distance over the valley, attracted a great proportion of the neighbouring population, among whom there were also some Rumá. A few of them were even mounted on horses, although of a very awkward

breed. They were seated upon a very awkward kind of saddle, which was merely thrown over the horse's back without a belly-band, and quite low behind. Their dress was also poor, and of the same character as that of the inhabitants of Bamba and Ghérگو. All these people belong to the tribe of the Ibawájiten, and were remarkable for more than ordinary ignorance. Many of them came to solicit medicine from me; and one cannot wonder that, in such a locality, a great deal of sickness prevails, for the whole river is almost entirely lost in a broad shallow valley of about three miles in width, which, in its present low condition, bordered by steep banks, was nothing but a labyrinth of small creeks, intercepting swampy meadow grounds, although, during the higher state of the inundation, it must be filled up by the river, and form one large stream. Seeing so few trees hereabout, I was astonished to hear all the people speak of the number of lions which infested this district; they even begged us urgently to be upon our guard against them during the night.

Having heard nothing of lions or wild beasts during the night, we prepared early for our departure, but were detained some time, as the Sheikh had again business to transact as a general pacificator; these Ibawájiten having purchased two of the slaves whom Sadáktu had taken from the people of Bamba, and not feeling inclined to return them. At length we started, but found it extremely difficult to avoid a wide swampy creek which deeply indented

Sunday,  
June 18th.

the country, while it afforded a beautiful field for the cultivation of rice, and even in the present decayed state of the country, was not left wholly unprofitable. At length having passed several small channels, we regained the border of the sandy downs, which were richly clothed with vegetation, although the melancholy looking fernán bush here also vindicates its right, beside the retem and the talha tree.

We at length resumed our southerly direction, but were not allowed for any length of time to follow a straight course across this swampy ground, being recalled by some of our companions, who conducted us to a sandy promontory, with projecting granite blocks and dúm bushes, where the Sheikh had made a halt, opposite an encampment of the Songhay, in the "Ammas," as the Imóshagh call the bottom of the valley. Although I was sorry to break off our march so soon, the view from this place was highly interesting, as it afforded a distant prospect over the river, if I may so call a broad swampy valley, hemmed in by steep banks, enclosing in the midst an abundance of rank grass, and scarcely affording at the present time the aspect of an open sheet of water, smaller and larger creeks, and more extensive ponds being formed in every direction. But the most curious sight was that presented by the river a little higher up, where corresponding to the deep gulf which we had turned round in the morning, there appeared on the opposite side another swampy gulf, the whole width of the valley at that place.

being scarcely less than eight miles. It is evident, from all that I saw here, that the navigable branch of the river runs on the side of A'ribínda, that is to say, the southern bank.

As it had been decided that we should remain here during the night, we had already pitched our tents, and made ourselves comfortable, when our companions having been informed that in a neighbouring encampment there was a better prospect of a good supper, suddenly started off, although a thunderstorm gathered with threatening appearance over our heads; but fortunately the encampment was not far distant, and the storm passed by without rain. This encampment belonged to the Kél e' Súk, and was very considerable. The next morning several very decent-looking men were introduced to me, by my officious friend, A'hmed el Wadáwi, when they assured me that the whole road to Say was safe. All these people, who possess a small degree of learning, and pride themselves in writing a few phrases from the Kurán, were extremely anxious to obtain some scraps of paper, and I was glad to be still enabled, besides small strips of black cotton cloth and needles, to give away some trifling presents of this kind.

When we left the encampment, which was at about 800 yards from the outer bank of the river, the country assumed quite a different aspect, and we had soon to descend a rough rocky passage of blackened sandstone, interspersed with granite blocks, in a great state of decomposition, and passing several encamp-



ments of Tawárek, of the tribe of the I'medídderen, we entered a plain richly wooded with talha, hájilij, retem, fernán, and the poisonous euphorbia, which, as is generally the case, grew in the shade of the talha trees.

We very nearly became embroiled in a serious quarrel with the inhabitants of one of these camps, who seized a small box which I had given to the Sheikh, and which one of his young slaves was carrying. I was riding in advance, and the people allowed me to pass unmolested, contenting themselves with putting some questions to me. The whole country was in a state of great agitation, a rumour having got abroad that I, in conjunction with the Sheikh, was to establish here a new kingdom. But a few considerate admonitions from the more respectable members of the troop brought the Tawárek to reason; and it was very curious to witness the theatrical attitudes which one of these simple-minded but energetic original inhabitants of North Africa made use of, in order to demonstrate to the author of the riot the absurdity of his proceedings.

After some slight delay caused by this theatrical *intermezzo*, we put our little troop once more in motion, following our former southerly direction, till we were overtaken by a messenger from the Sheikh, with the order that we were to approach nearer the river. Proceeding therefore in a south-westerly direction, we soon came to the exterior embankment of the river reached by its waters during

the highest state of the inundation, and girt by a dense grove of dúm-bush and talha trees, but destitute of the nutritious býrgu.

In this locality, which is called Kókoro, we made a halt in order to wait for El Bakáy ; but, as he did not come, and as we were unable to stay in this wilderness where no encampment was near, we moved on in the afternoon, with an almost exact southerly direction, towards Gógó, Gáwó, or Ghágo, the celebrated capital of the Songhay empire. We first kept along the border of the green swampy creek, which further on presented an open sheet of water, while on our left, between the dense dúm-bush, dúm-palms also began to appear. But about two miles further on, leaving the creek for awhile, we ascended sandy downs, where from the deserted site of a former ámazagh, bearing evident traces of having been the resting-place of a numerous herd of cattle, my companions descried in the distance the tops of the palm trees of Gógó, while I strained my eyes in vain, filled as I was with the most ardent desire of at length reaching that place.

Descending then into a slight depression, we reached a larger fáddama, which soon after was joined by a considerable branch from the north-west, gradually filling with water as we advanced, and forming an arm of the river. From beyond the other side, a very comfortable looking encampment became visible, and almost induced my companions to give up the plan of reaching the desolate site of the

former capital of this Nigritian empire; but the fine tamarind trees, and the beautiful date palms burst now too distinctly upon our view to allow me to relinquish the pleasure of reaching them, without further delay. It was a most interesting and cheering sight to behold a large expanse of fields of native corn take the place of the desert. The whole country became one open cultivable level, uninterrupted by any downs; and I thought at that moment that we had bid farewell to the desert for ever, and entered the fertile region of Central Negroland, an expectation which, however, was not fully realized by what I observed further on. But here, at least, even in the present decayed state of the country, there were some remains of industry, and the stubble-fields of *sába*, or sorghum, were succeeded by tobacco plantations, and, after a slight interruption, by rice-grounds under water. However, darkness set in before we reached the miserable hovels of *Gógó*, and we encamped on a large open area, bordered round about by detached huts of matting, from which the ruins of a large tower-like building of clay rose to a considerable height, and by a fine grove of rich trees, running on into a dense underwood of *siwák*. The river was not visible from this point.

## CHAP. LXXVIII.

## THE ANCIENT CAPITAL OF SONGHAY AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.

As soon as I had made out that Gógó was the Tuesday,  
June 20th.  
place which for several centuries had been the capital of a strong and mighty empire in this region, I felt a more ardent desire to visit it than I had to reach Timbúktu. The latter, no doubt, had become celebrated throughout the whole of Europe, on account of the commerce which centred in it; nevertheless I was fully aware that Timbúktu had never been more than a provincial town, although it exercised considerable influence upon the neighbouring regions from its being the seat of Mohammedan learning. But Gáwó, or Gógó, had been the centre of a great national movement, from whence powerful and successful princes, such as the great Mohammed el Háj A'skia, spread their conquests from Kebbi, or rather Háusa, in the east, as far as Fúta in the west; and from Tawát in the north, as far as Wángara and Mósi towards the south.

Cheered at having reached this spot, I passed a tranquil night, and rising early in the morning, lay down outside my tent, quietly enjoying the prospect

over this once busy locality, which, according to the unanimous statements of former writers, was the most splendid city of Negroland, though it is now the desolate abode of a small and miserable population. Just opposite to my tent, towards the south, lay the ruined massive tower, the last remains of the principal mosque, or jingeré-bèr, of the capital, the sepulchre of the great conqueror Mohammed. All around the wide open area where we were encamped, was woven a rich corona of vegetation, among which, in the clear light of the morning, I discovered different species of trees that I had long ago lost sight of; such as date palms, tamarind trees, ngáboré or sycamores, and even the silk-cotton tree, although the specimens of the latter plant were rather poor and of small growth.

Having enjoyed the scenery for some time, I went with my young Shúwa lad, in order to obtain a sight of the river, of which as yet I had seen nothing here. Emerging from the fine group of trees, I found that only a very small creek without an outlet at the present season, closely approached the town, while an extensive swampy lowland extended far into the river. But for several months in the year this lowland is inundated, with the exception, perhaps, of a few spots which rise to a greater height, and are adorned with talha trees.

At present the name of Gáwó is given not only to the site of the former capital, but also to the island, and even to the opposite shore of A'ribínda; and I

once supposed, that the chief part of the town was situated on the island, but this does not appear to have been the case; neither does it appear to have stood on the western bank. The fact is that in former times there were two distinct quarters of Gógó, the quarter of the idolaters on the western bank towards Gúrma, and the royal and Mohammedan quarter on the eastern bank towards Egypt, whence Islám, with its accompanying civilization, had been introduced. In the course of time the latter quarter would gain over the former, which from the beginning, when pagan worship was prevalent, was no doubt the more considerable.

Even at present, when all this ground was left dry by the retiring waters and formed a rich grassy island, only a few huts were seen on the island, as well as on the shore of A'ribinda. But the present inhabitants appear scarcely to be in want of the river, for only a single seaworthy boat was to be seen, and four others out of repair were lying on the shore. The natives, when I expressed my astonishment at the miserable state of their craft, complained that they had no wood for building boats. Between the huts and the little creek, which by means of a northerly branch serves to irrigate the rice-fields, there is a tobacco plantation. It is here that the finest trees are grouped together, and I now observed, that besides from twenty to twenty-five date palms, which were just full of fruit, bordering upon ripeness, there were two or three dúm-palms.

Having thus surveyed the river, I took a turn round the hamlet, which altogether consists of about 300 huts, grouped in separate clusters, and surrounded by heaps of rubbish, which seemed to indicate the site of some larger buildings of the former city. While walking round the huts, the women came out from their "búge," or matting huts, and gathered cheerfully round us, exclaiming one above the other, "Nasára, nasára, Allah aákbar!" "A Christian, a Christian: God is great!" but they seemed to take a greater interest in my younger Shúwa lad than in myself, dancing round him in a very cheerful and fascinating manner. Some of them had tolerably regular features, and were tall and of good proportions. They were all dressed in the same style, very different from the dress of the women in Timbúktu, having a broad wrapper of thick woollen cloth of different coloured stripes fastened below the breast, so that it came down almost to their ankles, and many of them had even fastened this dress over their shoulders by a pair of short braces, in the same way as men wear their trowsers in Europe, and others had simply fastened it from behind.

While I was thus walking round the village, I met an old man who greeted me in the most cheerful manner, and attached himself to me. From what he intimated, I could not but conclude, that he had come into close contact with the Christian who so many years ago navigated this river in such a mysterious manner; but, unfortunately, he was of weak under-

standing, and I could not make out half of what he said to me. I regretted this the more as he conducted me through the heaps of rubbish to a long narrow clay building at a short distance west from the mosque, where he wanted to show me something of interest, but the owner of the house refused me admittance.

Leaving then the furthestmost huts on my right, I turned my steps towards the jingeré-bér, and endeavoured to make out as well as I could the plan of this building.

According to all appearance, the mosque consisted originally of a low building, flanked on the east and west side by a large tower, the whole courtyard being surrounded by a wall about eight feet in height. The eastern tower is in ruins, but the western one is still tolerably well preserved, though its proportions are extremely heavy. It rises in seven terraces, which gradually decrease in diameter, so that while the lowest measures from forty to fifty feet on each side, the highest does not appear to exceed fifteen. The inhabitants still offer their prayers in this sacred place, where their great conqueror, Háj Mohammed, is interred, although they have not sufficient energy to repair the whole. The east quarter of the mosque evidently was formerly the most frequented and best inhabited part of the town, and is entirely girded with a thick grove of siwák bushes, which covers all the uninhabited part of the former city. The town, in its most flourishing period, seems to have had a circum-



ference of about six miles. According to the statement of Leo\*, it appears never to have been surrounded by a wall. The dwellings in general do not seem to have been distinguished by their style of architecture, with the exception of the residence of the king, although even that was of such a description that the Bashá Jódar, on conquering the town, wrote to inform his master, Múláy e' Dhéhebi, that the house of the Sheikh el Haráin, in Morocco, was much better than the palace of the A'skia.†

When I returned to my tent from this my first excursion, I found a great crowd of men assembled there, but was unable to make the acquaintance of any one who might give me some information about the place, and, on the whole, I did not succeed in entering into any amicable relations with the inhabitants of Gógó. Their sullen behaviour seems to be accounted for by the fact, as I shall mention further on, that they had behaved rather treacherously towards the Christian who had visited this place some fifty years before.

I endeavoured also, although in vain, to buy Indian corn, from the inhabitants, although it was perhaps the fear of the Tawárek which made them deny that they had any. Thus I found myself reduced to the necessity of providing myself with a supply of úzak, or eníti, that is to say, the seeds of the *Pennisetum distichum*, which is generally used as

\* L. vii. c. 3.

† Journal Leipsic Oriental Society, vol. ix. p. 549.

an article of food by the Tawárek, my horses having fared very badly for some time.

It was not until the second day of our arrival, that my protector, accompanied by Hanna, Khozématen, Hammalába, and the other chief men of the Kél e' Súk, who had come to have an interview with him, joined us. These people were mounted partly on camels, partly on horseback, and the large open area which spread out between the mosque and our tents thus became greatly enlivened; and it was not long before the messengers who had been sent to Alkúttabu returned with the answer, that he would meet the Sheikh in this place in three days. It almost appeared as if Gógó was again to acquire some slight historical importance, as the place of meeting between the native chiefs of these disturbed regions and a European, anxious to inspire the natives of these countries with fresh energy, and to establish a regular intercourse along the high-road which nature herself has prepared.

When all these people arrived, I was just busy laying down, as well as circumstances allowed, my route from Timbúktu to Gógó, which I was very anxious to finish, and to send off from here, and thus to secure the results of my exploration, in case of any mischance befalling myself. At that time, the legs of my table being broken, I was obliged to finish this map on a board placed upon my knees, and sitting on my mat, as I had at that period neither chair nor box. Having finished this business, I went

with the Sheikh, in order to pay my compliments to the Kél e' Súk, who had just concluded their prayers. The two chiefs, Khozématen and Hanna, principally claimed my attention. But, although they were very respectable men, it was a rather curious circumstance that both were blind, or nearly so; Hanna, who was the elder by two years, had only one eye, and Khozématen was totally blind; notwithstanding which, he felt confident that I was able to cure him.

Besides the transactions with these people, the preparations for my home journey were going on, although slowly; and the Sheikh addressed a letter in my favour to the chiefs on the road along which I had to pass. It was couched in flattering terms, and could not fail to be of the greatest service to me after my separation from him.\* Notwithstanding that a tolerable variety of business was on hand, the locality soon became loathsome to me on account of the great heat which prevailed. The shade which was afforded by the fine sycamores near the river, was at too great a distance from my tent, and too much frequented by birds, to be of any avail. I was therefore glad that the visit of some other people induced my host to interrupt our stay here by a small excursion.

- These people were the Gá-béro, as they are generally called, or, according to their original nomenclature, Súdu-kánil, a numerous tribe of Fúlbe, who have been settled in these regions for several hundred years, and from fear of the persecution of the A'skía,

\* A translation of this letter will be given in Appendix IV.

or Síkkíá, have exchanged their own native language for that of the inhabitants of the country. They had formerly enjoyed almost undisturbed liberty, in a state of nominal dependence on the governor of Say; but ~~some time~~ previously they had been forced to acknowledge the supremacy of Hómbori, the governor of which place had made an expedition against them, and killed some thirty of their number. They therefore desired the Sheikh to come and extend his protection over them and to impart blessing to them. However, we did not leave this place till the afternoon of the 25th.

Having left behind us the area of the ancient town, and then traversed a plain clad with small talha-trees and dúm-bush, we reached, after a march of about four miles, the grassy border of the river, and boldly entered the swampy grounds; for in the midst of these lowlands, from whence the river had retired, there were several clusters of matting-huts, inhabited by Gá-béro and Rumá. Not having taken any tents with us, sheds were erected both for El Bakáy and myself, but they were in a miserable condition, and it was fortunate that a thunder-storm, which had hovered over our heads almost the whole of the afternoon, was moving northwards, where a great deal of rain fell, and left us tolerably free from wet and wind.

The inhabitants of the hamlet treated us rather inhospitably; and we set out at an <sup>Monday,</sup> <sup>June 26th.</sup> early hour to pursue our march in the swampy vale. After proceeding for about a mile, we passed

a small hamlet, situated on a rising ground, adorned with dým-palms. Crossing several small channels, where the people were busy renewing the dykes encompassing the rice-fields, we reached the firm shore, which was adorned with dým-bush, fernán, kalgo, tursha, and damankádda. The river, which forms here a tolerably open sheet, is bordered on the side of A'ribínda by a steep bank, which, a little further on, is succeeded by sandy downs. However, after a short time, we were again obliged to enter the low swampy ground, which at present formed a wide grassy gulf enclosed by hills.

The plain was cultivated with a good deal of sorghum, the blades of which were just starting forth, but the grain does not ripen before the period when the inundation covers this spot, and transforms it into a lake-like widening of the river. Winding along between several channels which had not yet dried up, we were glad when we again reached the firm shore, where the rocky slope, from 80 to 100 feet elevation, closely approaches the open river. A party of Kél e' Súk were just pitching their tents here.

Keeping along the narrow slip of level shore, which gradually became more and more compressed, from which circumstance the locality is called Tin-shéran, we found ourselves, after a march of about a mile, opposite an encampment of the Gá-béro, spreading out on a flat sandy beach, which at present formed the border of a very extensive grassy plain, but which,

when the river rises to a greater height, forms a sort of sandbank, till it is overwhelmed, in its turn, by the rising waters of the Niger. These being the people who had invited us to come and pay them a visit, we chose our camping-ground on the high sandhills forming the offshoots of the rocky slope, which here rose to the height of 200 or 300 feet. It was a beautiful open place, and the Gá-béro\*, as soon as they observed us, began to beat their drum, or tobl, and prepared to cross over to us. To accomplish this, however, it was first necessary for them to borrow some boats, as they themselves did not possess any, from fear of the Tawárek, who might easily cross over to them, and annoy them.

Having sent three oxen swimming across the river as a first token of hospitality, they began to raise a very neat matting-dwelling for the Sheikh ; but my noble friend, with great courtesy, gave it up to me, and ordered another for himself. These people exhibited great superiority both in carriage and intelligence over the Songhay inhabitants, although their dress is not very different from that of the Fúlbe, being only a little fuller and less shabby. A few, such as their chief, Hanna, and his people, wear black tobes, with pockets of red cloth, like the Tawárek. Their wives dress like the Songhay women, wrapping a woollen shawl

\* The Gá-béro are divided into the following tribes : the Shédibé, the Bwájil, the Sillánche (the latter probably so called from the well known town Silla), the A'gades, and the Gorrong.

round the lower part of the body, below the breast, and fastening it over the shoulder.

They derive their descent partly from Fúta, and partly from the tribe of the U'rube settled in Má-sina. Some sherífs are also stated to have intermarried with them: and it was with considerable interest that I beheld among them several individuals with real Púllo features. They are greatly afraid, not less of the Fúlbe of Hómbori (the place mentioned in my outward journey, which is only four good days' march distant from here), than of the Kortíta, a division of the Songhay settled further down the river. They were therefore most anxious to possess a double talisman against this twofold danger which threatened them, and received a blessing from me as well as from the Sheikh; for although I told them repeatedly that the blessing of the Sheikh was quite sufficient for them, they insisted upon receiving my own benediction likewise. I now learned that several of them had made my personal acquaintance on a former occasion, having been among the troop of natives who assisted me in crossing the dangerous swamp a few miles from A'ribínda.

In this place, which is called Borno, or Barno, we remained the four following days; and I might have enjoyed the fine air and the charming view over the river, notwithstanding my eager desire to continue my journey without any longer delay, if it had not been that I was badly off for food, the rice with which we were supplied not being seasoned with salt, and











there being an entire lack of milk. The communication with the opposite shore was rendered rather difficult by the great breadth of the open river, which, moreover, became repeatedly agitated by a thunder-storm, and was infested by several hippopotami, which at times were furiously snorting about in the river, as if in anger at our having disturbed their quiet retreat. The day of our arrival they had thrown the whole of our horses into disorder, and put them to flight while they were pasturing near the shore. They even at times interrupted the intercourse between the two banks, and altogether exhibited a very noisy character, especially during the evening and in the course of the night, when they wanted to come out for their usual food. Two white "ar," a rather rare species of antelope in these quarters, were seen by some of my companions on the rocky heights above.

At times I was roaming about in the recesses of the rocky slope, which offered very charming views, one of which is represented in the plate opposite, or I had some conversation with people who were passing by. Among the latter were especially a troop of Sherifen, a section of the Kél e' Sùk, but very different from the general character of that tribe, whose distinguishing features are humility and harmlessness. All of them came in full armour, and many were well dressed, and their general bearing bore testimony to an independent mind. It was curious, however, that the chief of these people mistook me for El Bakáy, and therefore paid his compliments to me

first, probably in consequence of my beard being longer.

**Saturday,**  
**July 1st.** The herd of cattle, which the Gá-béro were to make a present of to the Sheikh, having at length successfully regained their native shore, we set out on our return march to Gógó late in the afternoon, and keeping along the rocky slope, where it recedes inland, behind Tin-shéran, we halted for the night in an encampment of the Kél-gínhan, which was very considerable, consisting of more than 100 leathern tents. The encampment was full of young slaves, such as I had rarely seen with any of these Tawárk; but as I have observed on a former occasion, the Kél e' Súk do not seem as yet to have entirely forgotten their former residence in a large, luxurious place, and even at the present time indulge greatly in the traffic of slaves. Here, also, the slaves, male and female, were entirely clad in leather, but on the whole, they were good-looking, and appeared cheerful.

**Sunday,**  
**July 2nd.** I again reached Gógó, while the Sheikh remained behind in the encampment of another body of Kél e' Súk, situated on a sort of promontory, projecting into the swampy plain, which we reached about five miles after setting out from the place where we had passed the night. Our march lay along the foot of the rocky slope full of caverns and ravines, and enlivened with trees and bush, the swampy ground on our left being laid out in rice-fields, which the people were busy cultivating, and inter-

rupted here and there by insulated rising ground clad with dúm-bush.

On my arrival in my tent I was glad, after my long abstinence from palatable food, to indulge in an excellent rejíre, the favourite drink made with cheese and dates, which is very acceptable in the desert country, but rather difficult to digest in the feverish regions of Negroland. Thus I began to prepare myself for my home journey, which from henceforward I might confidently expect to pursue with more steadiness. I then went to pay a visit to my friends the Kél e' Súk, who, during our long absence, had grown very impatient, and, as it would seem, not without good reason. They received me very cheerfully, and in their excess of friendly feeling, made an endeavour to convert me to their creed; but having received a direct refusal, they entreated me very earnestly to return to them as soon as possible, but this time by way of Tawát. However, I was obliged to tell them, that it was very unlikely I should ever return, and more improbable still by way of Tawát, that road being extremely dangerous for us; but I informed them, that I entertained no doubt, that if it were possible to get over the rapids which obstructed the lower course of the river, the English would not be long in paying them a visit.

All my friends who now saw my departure near at hand, began to evince their attachment to me more strongly than ever, and in the evening, after I had dismissed El Munír and Inésa, the sons of Khozé-

maten, both of them worthy young men, I had a very animated conversation with my friend Mohammed el Khottá over our tea, and I promised him a considerable number of Arabic books, in the event of his paying a visit to England.\*

The following morning, when I was lying outside my tent, as was my custom, enjoying the fresh air, all my friends gathered round me, and I had to read to them passages from various European books, including the Greek text of the Evangelists. The German principally attracted the attention of these people, the full heavy words of that language appearing to them somewhat like their own idiom, and they became highly elated, when I recited to them from memory some verses of a favourite German poem.

All my people were so full of enthusiasm, on account of a fair prospect of a speedy departure on our home-journey being held out to them, that they gave the Sheikh El Bakáy, when he joined us, in the course of the morning, in Gógó, a most hearty reception, and fired away a good deal of powder in honour of him. I afterwards went with him to distribute some presents amongst the chiefs of the Kél e' Súk and some great men of the Avelímmiden, who had arrived in the company of the Sheikh. Khozématen received

\* This young man actually came to Tripoli in the course of last summer, but the unfortunate state of Indian affairs, and other circumstances, together with an illness common with people coming from the interior, which attacked both him and his companions, prevented his coming to this country.

a fine black Núpe tobe and a black lithám; Hanna, a túrkedí and a lithám; the four Awelímmiden, viz., Bodhál, Ríwa, Alíso, and Sábet, each a lithám, besides some smaller articles; and each of the sons of Khozé-maten and Hanna, the half of a lithám. Every one was content, although some of them would have liked to receive articles of greater value.

There being no prospect that Alkúttabu would join us here, as we were told that he had gone to drive back a predatory expedition of the Kél-fadáye, I returned the fine black horse which the Sheikh had made me a present of, and which I had destined for the chief of the Awelímmiden, to the former, who was going to visit that chief, in order that he might present it to him in my name. I also made ready the present which I intended to make to Thákkefi, the son of the former chief, and El A'gwi, a near relation of his.

The Sheikh himself showed his consciousness of our approaching separation by assuming a lively air. In the evening I had a very animated conversation with him and Sídi A'hmed el Wádáwi, the most learned of his pupils, with regard to the shape of the earth, and succeeded, at length, in clearly demonstrating to him its globular shape and the circular motion of the whole system of the planets. He was not a little struck when, speaking of what was above the earth and under it, I told him that, with regard to the Omnipresent Being, such as we and they recognise the Almighty Creator of the universe to be, the idea of an above and below was not to be



entertained ; but that such expressions had only reference to human speculation. But, although as a Mohammedan he could not entirely concur in such a doctrine, being overawed by the authority of the Kurán, yet, having before his eyes the beautiful panorama of the hemisphere, he became quite convinced that on the whole I was right ; although, shut up within the narrow walls of his room in the town, he had always thought it both absurd and profane to assert such a thing.

Wednesday, All was ready for our departure, when  
July 5th. Thákkefi, the cousin of the present ruler of the Awelimmiden, and son of the late powerful chief E' Nábegha, joined us with a few of his companions, among whom Sohéb was the most conspicuous. The arrival of this important personage caused us fresh delay, which, however, on the whole, was agreeable to me, as he was authorized by Alkúttabu to grant me full franchise and perfect security for all Englishmen travelling or trading in their territory ; and in the course of conversation he even made the remarkable proposal to me, that the English should endeavour, by means of a strong expedition up the river, to establish regular intercourse with them.

Meanwhile, the chiefs of the Kél e' Súk departed for their respective homes, holding forth the prospect that I myself might soon follow. Thákkefi stayed with me almost the whole of the day, inspecting my effects with the greatest curiosity and attention. He was a fine tall man, possessed of great

strength and remarkable intelligence, and had the most ardent wish to see more of our ingenious manufactures. I was very sorry that I was able to show him so little, as almost the whole of my supplies were exhausted. A spear had been thrust through his neck from behind, in the sudden attack by the Kél-gerés at Tin-taláit, where his father was slain, and he was very anxious to obtain some efficacious plaister for his wound. Everything went on so well in my intercourse with this chief, that in the afternoon of the day following his arrival the letter of franchise was written by Daniél, the secretary of Alkúttabu, and the day after Thákkefi himself called upon me in my tent. He appeared to have some particular object in view, and, having carefully secured the entrance of the tent, in order to prevent other people from overhearing our conversation, he expressed his desire and that of his uncle, that the English might send three well-armed boats up the river, in order to establish intercourse with them. I took care to point out to him, that however anxious the English were to establish commerce and an exchange of produce with this region, yet the success of their endeavours was dependent on the circumstance whether they would be able to cross the rapids and the rocky passage which obstructed the river lower down, between Búsa and Rába, and that therefore I was unable to promise him anything with certainty. I gave to this chief, who, besides being possessed of great vigour, had a good deal of good-nature about him, one tobe

shahariye, two black tobes, two black shawls, three túrkedís, a silk cord of Fás manufacture for suspending the sword, and several other smaller articles.

During our stay in this place I had laid down the course of the river between Timbúktu and Gógó on a tolerably large scale, as far as it was possible to do so, written a despatch to government, and several letters to members of the Royal Geographical Society and other private friends, and having sealed the parcel, I delivered it to the Sheikh in order that he might forward it without delay upon his return to Timbúktu. I am sorry to say, however, that this parcel only arrived a few months ago, having been laid up in Ghadámes for more than two years.

Before leaving Gógó, I was anxious to ascertain exactly the nature of the river along this shore, as on our march both to and from the Gá-béro, we had kept at some distance from its bank, and I arranged with the Sheikh's nephew to survey the shores of the river for some distance downwards. When I was about to mount on horseback, Thákkefi requested that I would put on my European dress, as he was anxious to see how it looked; but, unfortunately, instead of an officer's dress, which would certainly have pleased them very much, I had no European clothes with me except a black dress suit, which could only impress them with a rather unfavourable idea of our style of clothing, and although they approved of the trowsers, they could scarcely fail to think the shape of the coat highly absurd. But having never before seen fine black

cloth, they were surprised at its appearance, and, at a distance, all the people mistook it for a coat of mail, as most of them had been accustomed to see only red cloth.

Pursuing then, my proposed excursion, I observed also, below the village, some fine groups of date-palms. I also assured myself that the creek of Gógó, at least at this season of the year, is quite unnavigable, although I could not understand why the modern capital of the Songhay empire was not built on the open river, the only advantage derived from its actual situation being that the small creek forms a kind of close harbour, which affords protection to the boats, and may easily be defended in case of need. As for the site of the former capital Kúkiya, or Kúgha, I am sorry I did not arrive at a distinct conclusion respecting it.

Having followed the bank, as far as the point where the creek joins the principal branch of the river, I felt myself induced, by the precarious state of my companion's health to retrace my steps. This indisposition of the Sheikh's nephew influenced the choice of my companions on my return journey; as it had been originally the Sheikh's intention to send his nephew along with me as far as Sókoto. In his place another, but more distant relation of the Sheikh, Mohammed ben Mukhtár, an energetic, and intelligent young man, but of a less noble turn of mind, was appointed; and besides him, there was the Hartáni Málek, son of a freed slave, who was to return with the last-

named messenger from Támkala; then Mústafa, and Mohammed Dáddeb, the latter a native of Timbúktu, who were to return from Sókoto, and A'hmed el Wádáwi, and Háj A'hmed, who were to return from Bórnu.

In the evening preceding our departure, our camp exhibited a busy scene, as we were engaged in finishing our preparations for the journey, the Sheikh undertaking the outfit of one half the messengers and I the other; but the presents, also, which the latter destined for the chiefs of Negroland, were delivered to me, in order that I might take them under my care. He had, besides, the goodness to supply me with some native cotton and tobacco, to distribute as presents to the Tawárek and Songhay on our road: he also gave a dress to each of my companions, I doing the same to those among his pupils who had been most attached to me. I even felt induced to make a present of a very handsome tobe from Samsáñdi, richly ornamented with silk, which I had intended to take with me as a specimen of that very interesting manufacture, to Sidi Mohammed, a son of the Sheikh, who had accompanied us, and who, on account of our long absence from the town, was rather shabbily dressed at the time.

## CHAP. LXXIX.

SEPARATION FROM THE SHEIKH.—CROSS THE RIVER TO THE SOUTH-  
WESTERN SIDE. — VARIOUS ENCAMPMENTS. — RIVER STUDDED  
WITH ISLANDS. — ANSÓNGHO.

AT length the day dawned when I was, in <sup>Saturday,</sup> reality, to begin my home-journey, for all our <sup>July 8th.</sup> former movements along the river had rather resembled the wanderings of the natives themselves than the direct march of a European traveller, and, although I felt sincerely attached to my protector, \* and under other circumstances might still have found a great many objects worthy of my investigation and research in this region, I could not but feel greatly satisfied at being at length enabled to retrace my steps homeward, with a tolerable guarantee as to my safety. It was highly gratifying to me that when I left this place a great many people wished me a hearty farewell and a prosperous journey ; nay, Thákkefi even commissioned me to offer his special regards to Queen Victoria, with whose name I had made him acquainted.

Having then pursued our march through the level tract along the river, which here forms a great north-

southerly reach, and which, from having been full of life, is now empty and desolate, we reached the site of the encampment of the Kél e' Súk on the sandy eminence which we had passed a few days before, but which was now deserted. From thence we descended into the swampy ground towards the river, and here passed by a Songhay hamlet, the inhabitants of which received us with their usual inhospitality, and even refused us a little water,—an unkind feeling which displeased me most from a young newly married lady, who, standing in front of her neat hut of matting, with her fine figure and varied ornaments of all sorts of beads, presented quite an attractive appearance. Turning then round a creek filled with water, we reached an encampment of Kél e' Súk, and pitched our tent. For, although it was our intention to cross the river as soon as possible, yet no boats having as yet arrived, we were so long delayed that evening came on before we could carry out our design; and obstinately refusing to be separated from my luggage, I preferred crossing the river together with my people and effects the next morning. Our hosts possessing a great number of cattle, we were well treated, and I was able to indulge in plenty of milk. The Tawárek have a common name for the whole north-easterly bank of the river. They call the whole of it to the north-west of Gógó, Táramt, and to the south-east, A'ghelé.

Sunday,      This was the day when I had to separate  
July 9th.      from the person who, among all the people with

whom I had come in contact in the course of my long journey, I esteemed the most highly, and whom, in all but his dilatory habits and phlegmatic indifference, I had found a most excellent and trustworthy man. I had lived with him for so long a time in daily intercourse, and in the most turbulent circumstances, sharing all his perplexities and anxieties, that I could not but feel the parting very severely. Having exhorted the messengers whom he was to send along with me, never to quarrel, and to follow my advice implicitly in all cases, but especially with regard to the rate of progress in the journey, as he knew that I was impatiently looking forward to my home journey, he gave me his blessing, and assured me that I should certainly reach home in safety. Mohammed ben Khottár, who in consequence of his serious indisposition was prevented from accompanying me any further, and the Sheikh's eldest son, Sídi Mohammed, did not take leave of me until I was in the boat. When I had safely landed on the opposite shore, I fired twice a farewell, in conformity with the request of the Sheikh.

The river here, at present, was studded with sandbanks, which greatly facilitated the crossing of my camels and horses, although between the sandbanks and the south-westerly shore there was a deep channel of considerable breadth. The locality where I touched the south-western bank of the river is called Góna, a name identical with that of a place of great celebrity for its learning and its schools, in the countries of the



Mohammedan Mandingoes to the south. The sandy downs were lined with a fine belt of trees. Three different paths lead over these downs into the interior, the most important being the track leading straight to Dóre, the chief place of the province of Libtáko, and joining, at a very extensive lake or backwater, called Khalébleb, the road leading to the same place from Burre to the south of the island Ansóngho, lower down the river. At present, a broad swampy lowland spread out between the downs and the brink of the river.

The chief of my companions, A'hmed el Wádáwi, being once more called beyond the river into the presence of the Sheikh, we did not leave this place till a late hour in the afternoon, keeping along the low swampy shore. After a while, an open branch approached us from the river on our left, forming an island of the name of Berta. Here an animated scene presented itself to our eyes. An immense female hippopotamus was driving her calf before her, and protecting it from behind, her body half out of the water, while a great number of "agamba" and "zangway," crocodiles and alligators, were basking in the sun on the low sandbanks, and glided into the water with great celerity at the noise of our approach.

Here the swampy shore presented some cultivation of rice, while, on the opposite side, the river was bounded by the rocky cliffs of Tin-shéran, but the sandy beach, which a week previously had been animated by the numerous encampments of the Gá-béro,

was now desolate and deserted, and we continued our march in order to find out their new camping-ground.

While ascending a spur of rising ground called Gúndam, a fierce poisonous snake made a spring at my mounted servant, who was close behind me, but was killed by the men, who fortunately followed him at a short distance. It was about four feet and a half long; and its body did not exceed an inch and a half in diameter.

Having then kept along the slope for a little more than a mile, we again descended into the grassy plain, and reached a considerable creek, forming a series of rapids gushing over a low ledge of rocks, and encompassing the island of Bornu-Gungu, where the Gá-béro were at present encamped. The creek being too considerable to allow of our crossing it with all our effects, we encamped between it and the swamp, in a locality called Júna-bária; and I here distributed amongst my companions the articles which I had promised them.

The river, at this point, was frequented by several hippopotami, one of which, in its pursuit of good pasturage in the dusk of the evening, left the shore far behind it, and was pursued by my companions, who fired at it, without however hurting it or preventing its reaching the water.

It was a beautiful morning; and while the Wádáwi crossed over to the island in order to fetch a supply of rice, I had sufficient leisure to look around me. The shore on this side presented

Monday,  
July 10th.

little of interest, and was only scantily adorned with trees, but the island was richly clothed with vegetation. The only interesting feature in the scenery was the opposite shore, with the imposing cliffs of Bornu, where we had been encamped some time before. When at length we started, we were soon obliged to leave the shore in order to avoid an extensive swamp, and approached the hills, at the foot of which we had to cross a small creek, which during a great part of the year forms the border of the river itself, and then continued along the downs. Numbers of people, who had their temporary abode in the swampy plain, came to pay me their compliments.

These people are called *Gá-bíbi*, a name which is said to have reference to their black tents, which distinguish them from the matting dwellings of the *Gá-béro*. I was here not a little surprised at the swarms of locusts which the wind drove into our faces, and which certainly indicated our approach to more fertile regions. Proceeding in this manner, we reached a fine camping-ground in an opening of the slope of the downs, through which a path led to the interior, thus giving to the herds of cattle access to the river, and therefore called *Dúniyáme*, "the watering-place of the cattle." A fine *hájilij* afforded a cool shade, the vegetation in general consisting only of *fernán*, *retem*, and *bú-rékkeba*, and we at once decided to halt here, in order to await our guide, *Hamma-Hamma*, one of the *Gá-béro*, who had gone to visit his family, but had promised to rejoin us at this spot.

The situation of our camping-ground afforded us an interesting prospect over the valley ; and numbers of the inhabitants of the neighbouring hamlets and camps visited us in the course of the evening, and even supplied us with a tolerable provision of milk late at night.

The guide who was to accompany us as far as Say not having arrived, I had great difficulty in inducing my companions to set off without him : and we started at an early hour, keeping along the sandy downs, which a little further on became adorned with the rich bush called "indérren," or "kólkoli," while ledges of rock obstructed the river. Gradually the downs decreased in height, and the melancholy-looking fernán succeeded to the fresh indérren, but its place was supplied for a while by the richer tabórak. The locality was called Alákke, and further on, Dergimi; but fixed settlements of any kind are, at present, looked for in vain in these districts. In A'ussa, however, on the north-eastern side of the river, we left, first a hamlet called Dergónne, and, further on, a place called A'ghadór, which, as the name indicates, must have been formerly a walled place. West from Dergónne is probably the halting place Shínjeri, and A'ghadór is most likely identical with a place called Eben-efó-ghan, said to be hereabouts. The opposite bank, gradually sloping down and being clad with large trees, bore the appearance of a pleasant, cultivable country, while the shore on this side the river likewise improved ; altogether it seemed as if we had

Tuesday,  
July 11th.

left the desert far behind us. I am not sure how the country here is called; but I think that the district called A'zawágh may reach down to the eastern border of the river. The Niger was for a moment entirely free from rocks, forming a magnificent open sheet of water; but further on it again became obstructed by isolated cliffs.

Meanwhile, as we pursued our march steadily onwards, at a short distance from the bank, in a S. S. E. direction, the Kél e' Súki, Mohammed e' Telmúdi, entertained me, from the back of his tall méhari, with a description of the power of the Tárki chief, El Khadí, the southern verge of whose territory we had passed on our outward journey, and now again turned round the northern side of it. The chief, at this time, was encamped about three days from here, towards the west, collecting, as we were told, an expedition against the principality of Hómbori, the governor of which claims dominion over the whole district. There are even here several settlements of Fúlbe, a troop of whom we fell in with, and recognized in them young noble people, who in their countenances bore evident traces of a pure descent. Their idiom was closely related to the dialect of Másina. During the spring, however, the Tárki chief generally frequents the banks of the river, which then afford the richest pasturage.

Gradually the green shore widened, and formed a swampy ground of more than half a mile in breadth, adorned by a line of trees which, during the inundation, likewise becomes annually submerged by the

water. The valley is bordered on this side by steep banks of considerable elevation. As soon as I became aware of the swampy character of the plain, which greatly retarded the progress of my camels, I endeavoured to strike across the swampy ground, and to reach the firm bank again; but had considerable difficulty in doing so.

The bank was adorned by a growth of the finest trees, which gave to the river scenery a peculiar character, and invited us to halt during the hot hours of the day. We therefore encamped opposite Tongi, a hamlet lying on a low swampy island, separated from us by a considerable open creek, and ruled over by a man of the name of Sálah, who was a brother of Hamma-Hamma, the very man who was to serve us as a guide, but who had broken his word. The people, who seemed to be called Dekiten, behaved very hospitably, sending us immediately upon our arrival cows' and goats' milk as a refreshment, and giving us in the course of the afternoon a bullock for our further entertainment. I have already mentioned, I think, on a former occasion, how cruelly the inhabitants of these regions treat oxen which have been destined for slaughter, although in general they are rather mildly disposed towards animals. In conformity with their barbarous custom, my companions broke the hind legs of the animal which had been given us as a present, and allowed it to drag itself about in this state until they found it convenient to slaughter it.

While detained here the remainder of the day, I had the pleasure of meeting, among the people who crossed over to us from the island, an old man who had a very lively remembrance of Mungo Park, and who gave me an accurate description of his tall commanding figure, and his large boat. He related, besides, the manner in which the Tawárek of the tril of the I'de-Músa, the name of whose present chief El Getéga, attacked that mysterious voyager near Ansóngho, where the river is hemmed in by rapids, but without being able to inflict any harm upon him, while the intrepid Scotchman shot one of his pursuers, and caused two to be drowned in the river.

It was altogether a fine camping-ground, the talha and siwák being thickly interwoven with creeping plants; but a heavy thunder-storm, accompanied with rain, which lasted almost the whole of the night, rendered us rather uncomfortable. Besides this circumstance, the fact that the people of the Sheikh could only with difficulty be induced to forego the companionship of our guide, lost us here the best half of the day. But I collected a good deal of valuable information, especially with regard to the chief settlements of the independent Songhay, as, the famous towns of Dárgol, Téra, and Kúlman, situated between the river and our former route through Yágha and Libtáko, which I shall give in the Appendix.\*

At length I succeeded, at a rather late hour in

\* See Appendix V.

the afternoon, in stirring up my companions; and, leading the way, we crossed from this advanced headland a swampy creek which separated us from the main, and then kept along the rising ground, which was richly clad with vegetation, and from time to time formed recesses, as the one called Tannel, the river being now more open. But further on it became obstructed by cliffs and rocks, till at length, after a march of about seven miles, the river, which here formed a fine bend, assuming a south-easterly direction, exhibited an open undivided sheet of water, and on this account forms the general place of embarkation, called A'dar-andúrren, properly "the small branch," meaning evidently here a narrowing of the river; for people going from Kúlman to this part of A'ussa generally cross here. A little higher up there is a hamlet called Tabáliat, inhabited by sherífs, with a chief named Mohammed. Just at that moment some people were crossing over, but, when we horsemen hurried in advance, they immediately took to flight with their boats, leaving behind them some slaves and four or five pack-oxen, and all our shouting was not able to convince these native travellers of our peaceable intentions. Here, owing to a small creek which runs closely at the foot of the hills, we were obliged to ascend the rising ground, and, rather against the advice of our more prudent Kél e' Súki guide, encamped on the heights, which were clad with rich herbage, but covered with great quantities of the feathery bristle. This spot afforded a com-



manding view over the surrounding country, but on this very account appeared less secure for a small party; and notwithstanding the elevation, the camping-ground was greatly infested by mosquitoes, which almost drove our camels to distraction, and troubled our own night's rest not a little.

But the view which I here enjoyed over the northern end of the island, round which the river divided into four branches, was highly interesting to me, as being one of the places along the river best known to the natives as scenes where that heroic voyager from the north had to struggle with nature as well as with hostile men. Our fires having given to those poor lads who had been left behind by their frightened masters an opportunity of discovering what kind of people we were, they took courage and came to us, when we learned that they were Kél e' Súk, who had paid a visit to Kúlman, and were now returning home. They also informed us, that the crocodiles had devoured one of the pack-oxen, upon their attempting to swim them across the river.

Thursday,  
July 18th.

Breaking up our encampment at an early hour, we descended, when the branch nearest to us again assumed an open character tolerably free from rocks; but after a short time we were again forced by a ridge of sandstone about twenty feet high, which here formed the bank of the river, to ascend the higher ground. We thus obtained a clearer prospect over the whole valley, which at this spot attains a breadth of from









four to six miles, the ground being open, and the view only for a short time shut in by a dense grove of gerredh and talha trees.

Further on the river afforded a very wild spectacle, a sketch of which is represented in the plate opposite. In the distance before us, the iron gates of Akarámbay became visible, bordered by the high sandy downs of Tidejítiten; a grand mass of rock, like an immense artificial wall, with a strong northerly dip, started up from the creek; and from the extensive grassy island of Ansóngho similar masses appeared, which rose to an elevation of from seventy to eighty feet. Gradually the shore became more stony and barren, forming a plain called Erárar-n-tésawel, by the Tawárek, and Farri, by the Songhay. We passed a deserted hamlet which had formerly been inhabited by the l'de-Músa, and here the river again approached nearer on our left, but after a short time it again receded and became obstructed by ledges of rocks, especially at the place called Tazóri, where an uninterrupted ridge of cliffs breaks through the surface of the water. Even at this season of the year, it leaves a small channel beyond the grassy shore, which evidently connects the open water above and below the rapids.

About 1500 yards below this ledge, in a south-easterly direction, we reached the iron gates of Akarámbay, where the river, or at least this westerly branch of it, is forced through between two considerable masses of rock, at present from thirty-five to forty feet high, and about as many yards distant from each

bordered by low hills, where the crops of native millet were just shooting forth, stretched out, nothing but retem and fernán, breaking the monotonous level.

The hamlet of our host consisted of only six huts ; but the district did not seem to be uninhabited, and in the course of the day a considerable number of Fúlbe and Songhay collected around us, and troubled me greatly, begging me to impart my blessing to them by laying my hand upon their head, or spitting into a handful of sand, and thus imbuing it with full efficacy for curing sickness, or for other purposes. Even the river did not seem quite destitute of life and animation, and the previous evening, while I was enjoying the scenery, seated on the cliffs at some distance from our camping-ground, two boats filled with natives passed by, and procured me an interesting intermezzo.

Saturday,  
July 15th. The good treatment that we received here seemed to please my companions so much, that they tried to detain me another day by hiding one of their camels behind a bush and pretending it was lost. When at length I had found it, and was on the point of setting out to pursue my journey, a very heavy thunderstorm broke out ; and, although I persisted in proceeding, the rain became so violent that I was obliged to halt for fully an hour, near some bushes that protected us a little from the heavy gale which accompanied the torrents of rain. Here, also, the river was obstructed by a great number of rocks, while the adjacent grounds were partly cultivated, but only











sparsely clad with trees, till, after a march of a couple of miles, rich talha trees and gerradh began to appear ; but even here groups of rocks cropped out from the surface. Thus keeping along at some little distance from the river, we encamped shortly after noon at the foot of a sandy eminence, and were very glad when we were enabled to dry our wet clothes and recruit our strength with a dish of mohamsa.

Having ascended the rising ground in order to obtain a view of the mountains on the opposite shore, I went down to the river and enjoyed the wild scenery of the rapids, which here also obstructed its course, forcing this westerly branch to a velocity of perhaps six miles an hour, intersected by flat cliffs, which at present were only a few feet out of the water. A fine belt of trees lined the bank at a short distance from the edge of the river, the islands also being clad with rich vegetation, and, altogether, the locality seemed to me worthy of a slight sketch, which has been represented in the plate opposite. I had hitherto looked in vain all along the shore for traces of the elephant, ; but I discovered that this part is visited by them in great numbers. The place is called Tiboráwen. Having indulged in quiet repose for several hours, we were joined by our companions, who, seeing that I was not to be detained by their tergiversations, were anxious to come up with us.

Keeping a short distance from the river, first in a more winding and then in a south-  
westerly direction, we entered, after a march of

Sunday,  
July 14th

three miles, more undulating and fresher pasture-grounds; but stony ground soon began to prevail, although without entirely excluding vegetation. Here, before we reached the cape called Immánan, meaning the fish-cape, the several branches of the river united, while a grassy lowland was attached to the higher bank which bounds the river during the period of its inundation. This fresh grassy tract, full of herbage and trees, was awhile interrupted by the high ground attached to the cape; but as soon as we had left the naked hills behind us, we descended into a lovely little valley or ravine, which in a winding course led us to the beach of the river, which here formed a magnificent reach; but a little further on, at a place called Ekeziriden, it was broken by a ledge of rocks, which stretched almost across its whole breadth, and, at this season at least, made it totally unnavigable. A short distance beyond, a second ledge set across the river, while a little further on a rocky islet, overgrown with rich vegetation, caused the stream to divide. The bank itself now became stony, mica-slate protruding everywhere, and we ascended a small ridge, which formed a higher cone at some distance on our right, while on our left it formed a promontory jutting out into the river. The whole district is called Béting.

Having descended from this small ridge, we approached nearer the river, which was here tolerably free from rocks, and then entered a dense but short tract of forest, full of the dung of the elephant, and

traces of the footsteps of the banga or hippopotamus. Here we had to cross several watercourses, at present dry, one of which is called Galindu, and is said to be identical with the Búggoma, which we had crossed with so much difficulty before reaching the town of A'ribinda. But rocky ground soon prevailed again; and another promontory jutted out into the water, the river, which on the whole has here a south-south-westerly direction, being once more broken by cliffs.

A little further on we encamped opposite a hamlet called Waigun, which was just building, while another one of the same name was lying a little higher up the river. However we derived no advantage from the neighbourhood of this little centre of life, for having no boat at our disposal we were not able to communicate with those people ourselves, and they, on their part, felt little inclination to make our acquaintance, as they could not expect that we should be of much use to them, except in lightening their stores. My companion, the Kél e' Sùki, with shouts endeavoured to intimate to the people that their sovereign lord Bozéri was himself present; but this artifice did not succeed. The I'meliggizen, or their slaves, who dominate both shores, are ill-famed on account of their thievish propensities; and we protected ourselves by firing a good many shots in the course of the night.

Pursuing our course at an early hour, generally in a south-westerly direction, we

Monday,  
July 17th.

reached, after a march of about four miles, a fine running stream, about twenty-five feet broad and fifteen inches deep, traversing a beautifully fresh vale, the slopes of which exhibited traces of several former encampments of the Tawárek. It joins the river at a spot where it forms an open and unbroken sheet of water, and greatly contributes to enhance the whole character of the scenery, although, about 1200 yards below, it was again broken by a ledge of rocks crossing almost the whole breadth of the river, but mostly covered by the water, even at the present season. About 500 yards below this ledge a small island lies in the midst of the river, occupied almost entirely by a village called Kátubu, consisting of about 200 snug-looking huts, which were most pleasantly adorned by two beautiful tamarind trees. But the peace of the inhabitants appeared to have been disturbed, as they had probably heard our firing during the night, and were therefore on their guard. Five or six boats, filled with men, lay around the island at various distances, most probably spying out our proceedings, although some of our party thought that they were fishing.

We here left the beach for awhile, and ascended the higher ground, which rose to a greater height, cutting off a curve of the shore. The river, further on, was again broken by a ledge of rocks, but so that a passage remained open on the side of A'ussa: and shortly afterwards the various branches joined, and formed a fine noble reach. The country now

became more hilly and better wooded, being clad with retein, besides kórna and hájilij. Numerous ponds of water were formed in the hollows, and antelopes of various species, including that called "dádarit," were observed. Leaving then a path leading to a place called Tákala, situated at a distance of about fifty miles inland, in a south-easterly direction, we reached, about a quarter past ten o'clock, the highest point of this undulating ground, from whence we obtained a view over a wild and gloomy-looking forest-region, behind which the river disappeared, after having enclosed a well-wooded island called Sak-kenéwen.

From this higher ground we descended into a fine rich vale, the vegetation of which was distinguished by a few busúsu, ághanát, or tamarind trees. Emerging from this richly-clad valley, we again obtained a sight of the river—if river it can be called—for seen from hence it looks almost like an archipelago or network of islands and rocky cliffs in the wildest confusion, the river foaming along through these obstructed passages. For just as it turns round a cape, which juts far out to the N.N.W., and is continued under water towards the opposite shore in a long reef of rocks, forming a sort of semicircle, it is broken into several branches by a number of islands, through which it makes its way, as well as it is able, over cliffs and rocks, in such a manner, that along this south-westerly shore there is no idea of navigation even during the highest state of the river, but



on the A'ussa side it is more open, and renders navigation possible, although even there caution is evidently necessary. I have no doubt that this is one of the most difficult passages of the river. The name of the cape is E'm-n-lshib, or rather E'm-n-lshid, "the cape of the ass."

Having passed a place where the most westerly branch forms a small waterfall of about eighteen inches elevation, foaming along with great violence, we encamped on the slope of the green bank, adorned with fine herbage and luxuriant hájilj, in full view of this wild scenery. I made a sketch of it from the highest ground near our halting-place, which is occupied by a small cemetery, the locality having been formerly enlivened by a hamlet of the I'meliggizen, of the name of Lebbezéya. This encampment was also important to me, as I here had to take leave of our guide, Mohammed Kél e' Súki, whom I had vainly endeavoured to persuade to accompany me as far as Say, although he would have had no objection to have fulfilled his promise, if our other guide, Hamma-hamma, had not broken his word, and stayed behind, for, alone, he was afraid to trust himself to the Fúlbe. It was, moreover, his intention to proceed from here on a visit to his friends, the Událen. Convinced, therefore, of the justice of his arguments, I gave him his present, although I missed him very much, as he was an intelligent man, and had given me some valuable information.





## CHAP. LXXX.

### DENSER POPULATION BEGINS.

THE beginning of our journey without a guide was not very fortunate; for, having set out first from our encampment, endeavouring to cut off the great windings of the river, with my camels and my three freed blacks, my companions, in the dawn of the morning, lost the traces of my footsteps upon the grassy undulating ground, and it was some time before they joined me. The ground became at times stony, talha, gerredh, and other species of mimosas, being the predominant trees; and after a march of eight miles, we had to ascend another ridge, clothed with thick forest, where the kúka, or tédumt, the monkey bread-tree, which I had not seen for so long a time, was very common. This was an almost certain sign of the locality having once been a centre of human life, but at present only the traces of a former ksar, or hamlet, were to be seen. Having then crossed a small "rek," or "faire," that is to say, a barren, naked plain, we descended again, while the desolate character of the country continued, and the only signs of human life which we observed were the traces of

Tuesday,  
July 18th.

two men, with three head of cattle, probably robbers from the other side of the river, who were returning to their haunts with their booty. But gradually the country assumed a more cheerful aspect, being clad with large trees, and exhibiting evident signs of former cultivation, while isolated masses of rock were projecting here and there. The country altogether was so pleasant, that having met with a shallow pond of water, in a trough-like cavity of the grassy ground, we decided on encamping, for it was with great difficulty that I was able to drag on my companions more than fifteen miles a day at the utmost.

However, we had scarcely pitched our tents, when we became aware that our camping-ground close beyond the belt of trees with which it was girt, was skirted by a small rivulet, which although full of rocks was yet so deep, that it afforded sufficient room for crocodiles or alligators, and was not fordable here. It was a pity that we had not a guide with us who might have given us some clear information respecting the features of the country, for the conjecture of my companions\*, who fancied that this rivulet took its rise

\* Among my companions, the Hartáni Máleki, who had visited the countries of Mósi and Bámbara, possessed some interesting information concerning unknown, or little known, districts of these regions; but unfortunately he had something very uncouth in his manner, which prevented my learning from him all that would have been possible under other circumstances. This day I wrote down, from his information, the name of the pagan tribe of the Nenmer, who are settled between the Tombo and Bámbara; besides that of the Norma, who are chiefly settled in two places, one of which is called Púra.

to the south of Hóinbori, where it was called A'gelé was quite absurd if it be correct that the Galindu which we had crossed the preceding day was really the lower course of the river near A'ribínda; but it is very difficult to say how these courses correspond, and nothing is more likely than that the same watercourse may join the Niger by several openings. As it was, we had a long dispute as to the manner in which we should cross this water, and the following morning we had to take a tedious roundabout way to get over it.

After a march of two miles from our starting point we reached a crossway. We followed the advice of the Wádáwi, who, having taken the lead at the moment, chose the path to our left, though that on the right crosses the rivulet at this spot; but in the end it was perhaps as well that we did so, as otherwise we should scarcely have been able to ford it. We therefore continued our march after my companions had finished their prayers, which, as we always set out at an early hour,\* they used to say on the road. The open pasture grounds were here broken by large boulders of granite, while the rivulet, girt by fine large trees, approached on our right, or at least one branch of it, the river dividing near its mouth into a delta of a great many smaller branches. We here changed our direction, keeping parallel along the shore of the great river, where on a rocky island was situated the village of Ayóru or Airu, from whence a troop of about twenty people were just

proceeding towards their field labours. Most of them were tall, well made men, almost naked, with the exception of a white cap and a clean white cotton wrapper. Two or three of them wore blue tobes. Their weapons consisted of a bow and arrows, or a spear, and their agricultural implements were limited to a long handled hoe of a peculiar shape, such as is called jerrán by the Arabs, and kámbul by the Songhay. But besides a weapon and implement, each of them bore a small bowl, containing a large round clod of pounded millet, and a little curdled milk, which they hospitably offered to us, although it constituted their whole supply of food for the day. We rewarded them with a few needles and by repeating the fat-há or opening prayer of the Kurán.\* It was, moreover, very fortunate that we had met them just here, as, if not directed by their information, we should scarcely have been able to cross without accident these numerous creeks, some of which were of an extremely boggy nature, and others obstructed by rocks, which caused us considerable delay; for the principal branch or góru of the rivulet was not less than about thirty-five yards broad, and about two and a half feet in depth, with a rocky bottom. Fine busúsu, or tamarind trees, and wide-spreading duwé, or fig trees, adorned the delta, while a good deal of a kind of grain called "adelénka," or "donhére," was cultivated in the fields.

\* They informed us, that Kúlman was six hours' distance from here.

Having at length left this difficult delta of small rivulets behind us, which may occasionally cause great trouble to a traveller, we ascended sandy downs, and obtained from thence a view over the whole valley, which here rather resembles a large well-timbered *sáddama* than a river, only a small open branch becoming visible, not obstructed by rocks. The district exhibited a good deal of cultivation, the fields of Ayóru extending for more than two miles, and the low shore of the creek was adorned further on by a rich profusion of *kenya* or *tedámunt*. The richly-wooded islands afforded a very pleasant sight, one of them being enlivened by a great number of horses, which were left here to pasture, and the shore formed one uninterrupted line of tamarind trees. But the navigation may be very difficult here, as from time to time, the river, or at least as much as we saw of it, became greatly obstructed by rocks. It was pleasing to observe that we had at length entered more hospitable regions, for a short time after we left behind us the fields of Ayóru, cultivated ground again succeeded, and apparently very well kept.

Having then turned round a swampy gulf, we ascended higher ground, and now obtained a view of the remarkably wild scenery of the river which attaches to the island of Kendáji and the rocky cone Wárba, which had been in sight all the morning, and encamped, at half-past eleven o'clock, on a rising ground at some distance from the island. The river



here presented a very wild character, so that it almost seemed as if the navigation was interrupted entirely. Between the island of Kendáji and the rocky cone there really does not appear to be any passage open; but beyond the island there are evidently two more branches, and, as far as it can be seen from here, they are not nearly so much obstructed by rocks. The village seemed to be of considerable size, the huts covering the whole surface of the island; but, at the time of our arrival, not a living soul was to be seen, with the exception of an unfortunate man who was lamed by Guinea-worm, all the healthy people having gone to the labours of the field. But in the course of the afternoon the scenery became pleasantly enlivened by the arrival of a numerous herd of cattle and a flock of sheep, belonging to Fúlbe settlers in the neighbourhood, that were brought here to be watered.

Gradually, also, the inhabitants of the village returned from their labours, and began to give life to the scenery, crossing over to their insulated domicile in small canoes. Others, in the company of their chief, came to pay us a visit. The latter was a man of tall, stout figure, but of not very intelligent expression of countenance, and, as it appeared, not of a very liberal and hospitable disposition, for he received the eloquent address of my noble friend the Wádáwi, who adduced all the claims which he and his party had upon the chief's hospitality, very coldly, answering through the medium of a Púllo fáki who had been staying here for some time, and rather lay-

ing claim himself to a handsome present than acknowledging the demands made upon him by my companions for hospitable treatment. The most interesting feature about this petty chief was his name, which reminded one of the more glorious times of the Songhay empire, for he called himself Farma-E'rkezu-izze;" "farma" being, as I have said on a former occasion, the princely title of a governor; "izze" means son, E'rkezu being the name of his father. It was also highly interesting to me to observe that these Songhay, the inhabitants of Kendáji as well as those of Ayóru, call themselves, in their native language, Kádo (in the singular) and Hábe (in the plural form); a name which the Fúlbe have made use of to indicate, in general, the Kóhelán, or the native black population of all the regions conquered by themselves; and it seems almost as if the latter had taken the name from this tribe.

Besides these Songhay, we also received a visit from a Tárki gentleman of the name of Mísakli, son of Êllék-ken, and nephew of Sinnefel, the chief of the I'melíg-gizen of A'ribínda. These people are on hostile terms with their brethren in A'ussa, where the populous district Amára is situated, and thus, fortunately, undermine their own strength, which is only employed in the way of mischief, although they are still strong enough to lay heavy contributions upon the poor Songhay inhabitants of these distracted shores. They had levied, the preceding year, a tribute of four horses on the people of Kendáji, and a camel, together

with a quantity of corn, upon those of Ayóru. But although our guest, who was accompanied by two or three followers, was a rather decent young man, nevertheless, the neighbourhood of these Tawárek inspired us with just as little confidence as the behaviour of our friends the Songhay on the island; and we kept a good watch, firing the whole night. Nothing is more probable than that Park had a serious quarrel with these islanders.

Fortunately we were not disturbed; and we set out from our camping-ground at a very early hour, in order to make a good day's journey, but we were first obliged to search about in the two hamlets which lie opposite the island, and one at the very foot of the rocky cone of Wárba, for the guide that had been promised to us the preceding day. We had scarcely set out fairly on our march, when a heavy thunderstorm rising in the south-east, threatened us with a serious deluge, and obliged us to seek shelter under some trees to the right of our path. We then unloaded the camels, and endeavoured to protect ourselves and the luggage, as well as possible, with the skins and mattings; but the storm was confined to a very violent gale, which scattered the clouds, so that only very little rain fell. Having thus lost almost two hours of the best part of the day, we proceeded on our march, not now digressing to the right and left, but following a broad, well trodden path, which led us through carefully cultivated cornfields, shaded with fine hájilij. But soon the ground became more undulating,

and we followed a sort of backwater, at some distance from the principal branch of the river, and then crossed a cavity or hollow, where calcareous rock interrupted the granite. The river also, in its present low state, laid bare a good many rocky islets, and further on divided into five branches, over which, from the rising bank, we obtained an interesting view, with a cone, on the A'ussa shore, towards the north. One of the islands was handsomely adorned with dúmpalms, while the shore was clothed with a plant called "hekík."

This district appeared to be extremely fertile, and its populous state, after the desolate region which we had traversed, seemed the more remarkable; for soon after, having passed a small hamlet, we had on the opposite shore the considerable place Tornáre, and just beyond, on an island, another village called Fíchile, densely inhabited and full of life and bustle. Scarcely had we passed this busy place on our left, when another hamlet appeared called Kochómerc, and it was most gratifying to behold the river, which, during the greater part of our journey, had seemed to roll its mighty stream along without the least use being made of it, covered with small canoes, which carried over to our shore numbers of people who were going to the labours of the field. The bank itself also became here beautified by a variety of luxuriant trees, such as the kéwa, the dingi, the baúre, the hájilij, and others of various species, the hájilij, especially, exhibiting here a very luxuriant

and rich growth. A sort of shallow grassy creek separated from the bank a low island, which, during the highest state of the inundation, is under water.

Two miles beyond Tornáre the character of the country changed and deep sandy soil, clothed with the herbage called *rodám*, and destitute of trees, succeeded to the fine arable soil; but after a march of about a mile, cultivation again appeared, and even extended over the hilly chain which we ascended. We then passed a slave village called *Gandútan*, belonging to the *Tárki* chief, *Mohammed el Amín*, where numerous horses were seen grazing in the fields, distinguished by the kind of herbage called by the Arabs *el debédi*, in which my companions were delighted to recognize an old friend of theirs, as growing also plentifully in the *A'beras* of *Timbúktu*. Crossing the plain, where we met several travellers, we began to ascend the slope of a promontory called *E'm-Aláwen*, and soon reached the residence of the chief just mentioned, who is the head of one of the two divisions of the *Erátáfáni*. The village consisted of 150 to 200 huts of matting, with a larger and a smaller leathern tent in the centre; but as it did not offer any cool shade, being perched on the bare hot gravel overlying the rock, we thought it very uninviting, and preferred descending the steep eastern slope, upon the narrow slip of the low shore which stretched along the river, and which, being richly clothed with *hájlíj*, *baúre*, and other trees, offered a very pleasant resting-place. We were, however, not allowed

to enjoy much repose, but were soon visited by the whole male population of the village, Tawárek and Songhay, full-grown men and children, who gathered round us with great curiosity, but without entering into close conversation, as they did not know what to make of me, and scrutinized suspiciously what my real character might be, my companions passing me for a *sherif*.

Later in the afternoon the chief himself, who had not been present on our arrival, paid us a visit, and behaved in a very becoming manner, so that I made him a present of half a lithám, while I distributed a quantity of needles amongst his people. The place was tolerably well supplied with provisions, and I bought a good supply of butter and rice; but milk was scarce, although I succeeded in bartering a small quantity for some dates, of which these people were extremely fond. A little below our encampment, on the low shore, there was a farm, and on the island nearest the shore, two small hamlets; for the branch of the river, which in general appears to be of considerable depth, was studded with green islands, which stretched out lengthwise in two parallel rows, being of the same height as the bank on which we were encamped, and which at present formed a steep descent to the shores of the river of about ten feet, rendering the watering of the horses very difficult. It was only with the utmost exertion that we rescued one of them which fell into the stream.

The whole district is said to be greatly infested by

lions, and we saw the remains of four horses, which a single individual of that species had torn to pieces the preceding day; but, notwithstanding the strength and ferocity of this animal, I was assured by all the inhabitants that the lion of this region, like that of A'ir, has no mane, and that its outward appearance was altogether very unlike that beautiful skin upon which I used to lie down, being the *exuvie* of an animal from Lógone.

Friday,  
July 21st.

On our way hither the preceding day, we had been overtaken, near the village of Gandútan, by a band of some three or four Songhay people, who had rather a warlike and enterprising appearance, and were very well mounted. Having kept close to us for some time, and spoken a great deal about my arms, they had disappeared, but at a very early hour this morning, while it was yet dark, and we were getting our luggage ready for the day's march, they again appeared and inspired my companions with some little fear, as to their ulterior intentions. They therefore, induced the chief of the Erátáfáni to accompany us for a while, with some of his people on horseback; as they were well aware that the Songhay who at present have almost entirely lost their independence, cannot undertake any enterprise without the connivance of the Tawárek. But as for myself I was not quite sure who were most to be feared, our protectors, or those vagabonds of whom my companions were so much afraid; for although the chief himself seemed to be a

respectable man, these people, who are of a mixed race of Tawárek and Songhay, do not appear to be very trustworthy, and I should advise any traveller in this region to be more on his guard against them than against the true Tawárek. But under the present circumstances when they accompanied us on the road, I thought it better to tell them plainly who I was, although my companions had endeavoured to keep them in the dark respecting my real character. They had taken me for a Ghadámsi merchant, who wanted to pass through their territory without making them a suitable present. After I had made this confession they became much more cheerful and openhearted, and we parted the best of friends. The cunning Wádáwi also contributed towards establishing with them a more intimate relation, by bartering his little pony for one of their mares. Nothing renders people in these countries so communicative, and at the same time allays their suspicions so much, as a little trading.

Having separated from our friends, and made our way with some difficulty through a tract of country partly inundated, we at length fell in with a well-trodden path, where on our right a low hilly chain approached. Here a little dúm-bush began to appear, and, further on, monkey-bread trees adorned the landscape; but the river, after having approached for a short time with its wide valley, retired to such a distance, that not having provided a supply of water, we began to suffer from thirst. I therefore rode in:



advance and chose a place for a short-halt during the midday heat, where a sort of *fáddama*, which during the highest state of the inundation forms a considerable open sheet of water round an island thickly clad with *dúm*-palms, indents the rising bank of the river, offering, even at the present time, a handsome tank of clear water. The surrounding slope was adorned with a fine grove of *dúm*-palms, and, protected by the shade of some rich *hájlíj*, produced a great profusion of succulent herbage.

Having rested in this pleasant spot for a couple of hours, we pursued our march along this green hollow at present half dried up, and feeding also a good many tamarind trees, and after a march of about half a mile, reached the spot where this shallow branch joins a considerable open arm of the river, which here is tolerably free from rocks. A little below, it is compressed between rocky masses projecting from either bank, intersecting the whole branch, so that only a narrow passage is left, enclosed as it were by a pair of iron gates formed by nature. Yet the navigation was not obstructed even at the present season, as a boat about thirty-five feet long and rowed by six men, which went quickly past us, evidently proved. The path was lined with mushrooms, called by my companions *tobl e ndéri*.

This branch of the river presented a very different aspect when, after having ascended a rising ground, we had cut off a bend or elbow of the river, for here it formed a kind of rapid, over which the water

foamed along, and from the circumstance of the boat having followed another branch, this locality did not seem to be passable at present. The low shores, which are annually inundated, and even now left swampy ground between us and the river, were cultivated with rice; the higher ground, rising above the reach of the inundation, bordered by a belt of damankádda and thorny bushes, was reserved for millet; and beyond, the whole valley, which is here very broad, is bordered by a mountainous chain. The rocky nature of the river was further demonstrated by a remarkable group of rocks rising from an island a little further on, and affording a very conspicuous landmark; but, in general, this part of its course seems to be free from cliffs.

We had long strained our eyes in vain in order to obtain a sight of the large town of Sínder, which we knew to be situated on an island, till at length, from a hilly chain which here borders the river, we obtained a fair sight of the whole breadth of the valley, and were able to distinguish an extensive range of huts spreading over one or two islands in the river. Here, therefore, we encamped at the side of a few huts, although it would have been more prudent, as we afterwards found, to have chosen our encampment a little lower down the river, where a channel leads straight to the island of Sínder, with which we wanted to open communication; while, from the spot where we actually encamped, another considerable island-town called Garú lies in front of it.

The whole valley, which is probably not less than from six to eight miles broad, and is studded with extensive islands, is very fertile, and tolerably well inhabited. The two towns together, Garú and Sínder, according to the little I saw of them, did not seem to contain less than from 16,000 to 18,000 inhabitants, and are of the utmost importance to Europeans in any attempt to navigate the upper part of the river, as they must here prepare to encounter great difficulties with the natives, and at the same time ought here to provide themselves with corn sufficient to carry them almost to Timbúktu. For Sínder, which in some respects still acknowledges the authority of the governor of Say, is also the market for all the corn used in this district. A large quantity of millet can at any time be readily obtained here, and during my journey was even exported in large quantities to supply the wants of the whole of the provinces of Zabérma and Déndina. Notwithstanding this great demand, the price was very low, and I bartered half a suníye of dúkhn, equal to about two hundred pounds' weight, for a piece of black cloth, feruwál, or zenne, which I had purchased in Gando for 1050 shells, a very low price indeed, not only when we take into account the state of things in Europe, but even when we consider the condition of the other countries of Negroland. I was also fortunate enough to barter the eighth part of a lump of rock salt from Taödénni, for eight drá of shásh or muslin; but as for rice, it is difficult to be got here, at least in a pre-

pared state, although rice in the husk, or kóresh, is in abundance.

A great many people visited me, and altogether behaved very friendly. In this little suburb, where we had encamped, there was staying a very clever fáki, belonging originally to the Gá-béro, and called Mohammed Sáleh. To my great astonishment I became aware that this man was acquainted with my whole story; and, upon inquiring how he had obtained his information, I learned that a pilgrim, named Mohammed Fádhl, a native of the distant country of Fúta, who, being engaged in a pilgrimage, had undertaken the journey from Timbúktu along the river in a boat, had acquainted the people with all my proceedings in that place. This fáki also informed us of the present state of Háusa. He told us that Dáúd, the rebellious prince of Zerma, or Zábérma, after his whole army had been cut to pieces by A'bú el Hassan, had made his escape to Yélu, the capital of Déndina, where the rebels were still keeping their ground. Meanwhile 'Alíyu, the Emír el Múmenín, had arrived before Argúngo, but in consequence of his own unwarlike character, and a dispute with Khalílu, to whom that part of Kebbi belongs, had retraced his steps, without achieving anything worthy of notice. But I learned that, owing to the revolt continuing, the Dendi were still in open rebellion, and that, in consequence, the road from Támkala to Fógba was as unsafe as ever, although part of the Máuri had again returned to their allegiance.

I should have liked very much to visit the town of Sínder, but not feeling well, and for other reasons, I thought it more prudent to remain where I was; for, besides the fact that the governor himself is only in a certain degree dependent on the ruler of Say, there were here a good many Tawárek roving about, which rendered it not advisable for me to separate from my luggage; I therefore gave a small present to my companions, which they were to offer to the governor in my name. In consequence of this they were well received; and the governor himself came to meet them half-way between the towns of Sínder and Garú, and behaved very friendly to them.

Sunday,  
July 29th. After a rainy night, we left this rich and populous district, in order to pursue our journey to Say. Keeping close along the bank of the river, our attention was soon attracted by some young palm bushes covered with fruit, which caused a long dispute between my people and the followers of the Sheikh, part of them asserting that it was the oil-palm, while others affirmed it to be the date-palm. This latter opinion appeared the correct one, considering that the oil-palm does not grow at any distance from salt water; for on our whole journey through the interior, we had only met with it in the valley of Fógħa, which contains a great quantity of salt. This opinion was confirmed by further observation, when we discovered the male and female seeds, which wanted nothing but the civilising influence of man in order to produce good fruit.

Without an artificial alliance of the male and female, the fruit remains in a wild and embryo-like state. Thus keeping along the shore, we passed several islands in the river, first Juntu, and at a short distance from it Bisse-gúngu; further on Kóma and Bossa, adorned with a fine growth of trees; and about five miles from our halting-place, after we had passed a small hilly chain called Mári, the island of Néni, which is likewise richly timbered. This island is remarkable on account of its being the birthplace of the great Songhay conqueror, Háj Mohammed A'skiá, or Síkkiá.

Our march was the more interesting, as we were so fortunate as to be accompanied by the fáki Mohammed Sálch, whose acquaintance I had made during my stay near Garú. He was very communicative and social, and I regretted that I was not allowed to traverse in his company the whole territory of the independent Songhay in various directions. He dwelt particularly on the distinguishing character of Dargol, the principal seat of the free Songhay, especially the Koi-zé, with the remains of the royal family of the Síkkiá, of which several princes were still living.

My companion also informed me of the attack which the natives of Gurma under the command of their chief Wentínne, in conjunction with the Songhay, had made a short time previously upon the emír of the Toróde, or Tórobe. He likewise gave me an account of the extensive dominion of Dáúd, the

grandfather of 'Omár, the present chief of the Erátá-fán, who succeeded in founding a large kingdom, when he was murdered by a rival nephew, and all his power was annihilated.

Our sociable and well-informed companion now left us. A little lower down the river on the opposite bank are the villages of Tilla-béra and Tillakaina, which are governed by 'Othmán, a relation of Mohammed Tondo. The whole country is undulating, covered with rank grass, and adorned with hájilíj, and altogether left a pleasing impression; while here and there, cultivated ground, with crops shooting up to the height of from two to four feet, gave some variety to the landscape. A little further on, large monkey-bread trees appeared; and beyond that, besides talha, of a rather luxuriant growth, kalgo also became plentiful. The river was at some distance from the path, so that we encamped a little after noon in the midst of the forest, near a swampy pond full of herbage and musquitoes, and surrounded with large luxuriant monkey-bread trees and fine sycamores. I felt here extremely feverish, and was obliged to take a good dose of medicine.

Monday, July 24th. Having been detained by a heavy thunder-storm, we at length started, traversing a dense forest full of monkey-bread trees, and extending about two miles. We then turned round a large swampy inlet, when a hilly chain approached on our right, and the shore of the river was clad with a rich bush called *yéu* by my companions.

About two miles beyond, we reached a hamlet called A'zemay spreading out on a hill, and encamped a short distance beyond towards the south-east. The village is inhabited by Tawárek of the tribe of the Erátafán, who have exchanged their nomadic habits for those of settlers, but without giving up their character or language. A few Kél e' Súk live amongst them; but nearly half the population of the village consists of Fúlbe, of the tribe of the Zoghorán, this settlement presenting the remarkable instance of a peaceful amalgamation of these two tribes. But the Erátafán, as I have stated above, have lost their former power, although under the dominion of Dáúd, they held all the towns as far as Say under their sway. Notwithstanding their diminished power, they appeared to be well off, for not only were they dressed decently, but they also treated us hospitably with excellent furá, the favourite Háusa dish of sour milk with pounded millet; and in the evening they sent a great quantity of pudding and milk, and a young heifer.

I here provided myself with a supply of corn, as I had been given to understand that it fetches a high price in the market of Say. I found that the price already far exceeded that of Sínder, one feruwál of Gando buying only twenty-three kél of millet; but my camels were extremely weak, and one had died the preceding night, so that I was not able to carry with me a greater supply. As for rice, none was to be had, and no cultivation of this grain was to



be seen, although it might be supposed to succeed here, the river being wide and forming a large island called Délluwé.

Tuesday,  
July 25th. The good treatment of the people of A'ze-  
may made my companions rather unwilling to leave this place so soon, and a further delay was caused by their bartering. When at length we set out on our march, we had to make a considerable detour, in order to avoid the lower course of a rivulet, which is here not passable. Our path lay through corn-fields till we reached the village of Kasánni, consisting of two groups, one of which was surrounded by a keffi, or stockade, and inhabited by Fúlbe; the other was merely a slave hamlet. Rich corn-fields, shaded by fine trees and broken by projecting rocks, extended on all sides. Close beyond this hamlet, we crossed a little rivulet called Téderimt by the Ta-wáreck, which in this spot, although only twenty-one feet wide and a foot in depth, caused us a short delay, owing to its banks rising to the height of about ten feet. But inconsiderable as was the size of the river, it became important to me, as in crossing it my ear was greeted for the first time by the usual Háusa salute, which I had not heard for so long a time, and which transported me once more into a region for which I had contracted a great predilection, and which among all the tracts that I had visited in Negroland, I had found the most agreeable for a foreigner to reside in.

We then continued our march through the district of Góte, which is chiefly adorned with the monkey-

bread tree, till we reached a small village called Bóse, which is inhabited by the tribe of the Kòi-zé or Koizá-ten (who came originally from Damgót). It consisted entirely of the kind of huts which are usual in Háusa, and manifested that we had left the Songhay architecture behind us. But although it possesses a small mosque, most of the inhabitants, together with the head man himself, are idolaters. Here we were hospitably treated with a bowl of ghussub-water, while I had to give the people my blessing in return. Two miles and a half beyond Bóse lies the village of Hendóbo, on a small branch of the river. We encamped a short distance from it, in the shade of a luxuriant duwé, on a ground rising slightly from the swampy plain opposite the island Barma-gúngu, which is situated a little further in the midst of the river, which here, from N. 20° W. to S. 20° E., changes its course to a direction from N. 20° E. to S. 20° W.

The island is adorned with dúm-palms, and is the residence of the chief of the Kortíta, or Kortébe, whose real name is Slímán or Solímán Géro Kúse-izze, the son of Kúse, but who is generally known in the district under the name of Solímán Sildi. My companions, who were very anxious not to neglect any great men of the country, had determined to pay this chief a visit, in order to try to obtain a present from him. But the eloquent Wádáwi and his companions did not appear to have succeeded with these islanders; for they returned with rather dejected spirits from their visit to the chief, who showed us not the slightest mark of hospitality. But, from another quarter, I myself, at

least, was well treated ; for the inhabitants of a small island in the river brought me a plentiful supper in the evening, consisting of prepared millet, a couple of fowls, and some milk.

Wednesday,  
July 26th.

Traversing the swampy ground, after a march of half a mile we reached again the direct path, keeping at some distance from the bank of the river, which, although divided into several branches, exhibited a charming spectacle in the rising sun. Cultivated ground and wilderness alternated, and the monkey-bread tree appeared in great abundance ; but further on the duwé and kenya began to prevail ; the islands in the river also, as Nasile and Ler, being richly clad with vegetation.

However, the district did not seem to be very populous, and the only village which we passed on the main was Shére, surrounded by a stockade, where we endeavoured, in vain, to obtain a little milk. We left, at a distance of several miles to the west, the town of Larba, which, as I have mentioned on my outward journey, is inhabited by a warlike set of people greatly feared by their neighbours ; but at present we heard that the ruler of that town, of the name of Bító, had lately returned from Say, to whose governor, A'bu Bakr, he was said to have made his submission ; although it is probable that his only intention had been to keep free that side, in order to be undisturbed in his proceedings against the chief of the Toróde, or Tórobe.

Altogether the region presented a very interesting

feature when, close behind the village of Gárbegurú, we reached the river Sírba, with which, in its upper course, we had first made acquaintance at Bóse-bángo, but which here had a very different character, rushing along, in a knee-like bend, from south-west to north-east, over a bed of rocks from sixty to seventy yards across, and leaving the impression that at the time when it is full of water it is scarcely passable. But at present we found no difficulty in crossing it, the water being only a foot deep. Nevertheless, the Sírba is of great importance in these regions, and we can well understand how Bello could call it the 'Alí Bába of the small rivers. Ascending then the opposite bank of this stream, we obtained a view of a hilly chain ahead of us, but the country which we had to traverse was at present desolate, although in former times the cornfields of the important island-town Koirwa spread out here. However, we had a long delay, caused by another of our camels being knocked up, so that we were obliged to leave it behind; an unfortunate circumstance, which afforded a fresh proof of the uselessness of the camels of the desert tract of A'zawád for a journey along the banks of the river.

The country improved greatly after we had crossed a small hilly chain which approached on the right, but it did not exhibit any traces of cultivation, the inhabitants having taken refuge on the other side of the river. We also passed here a pretty little rivulet of middle size, girt by fine trees, and encamped close beyond the ruins of a village called Namáro, opposite

the village of Kuttukóle, situated on an island in the river. The place was extremely rich in herbage, but greatly infested by ants, and, in consequence, full of ant-hills ; but we only passed here the hot hours of the day, in order to give our animals some rest, and then set out again just as a thunderstorm was gathering in A'ussa on the opposite side of the river.

The sheet of water is here broad and open, forming an island, and does not exhibit the least traces of rocks. The shore was richly clad with vegetation, and a little further on seemed even to be frequented by a good many people ; but they did not inspire us with much confidence. Meanwhile, the thunderstorm threatening to cross over from the other side of the river and reach us, we hastened onward, and encamped on the low and grassy shore, opposite a small village called Wántila, situated on an island full of tall dúm-palms, which however, at present, was only separated from the main by a narrow swampy creek. However, we had a sleepless night, the district being greatly infested by the people of Larba. The governor of this place, as we now learned, was then staying in the town of Karma, which we had just passed, and from whence proceeded a noise of war-like din and drumming which continued the whole night.

At an early hour, therefore, the next morning we set out, keeping at a short distance along the river, the ground presenting no signs of cultivation, while the steep slope on the opposite bank almost assumed the

character of a mountain chain; the highest group being from 800 to 1000 feet in height, and called Bingáwi by our guide, while he gave to the succeeding one the name of Wágata; the most distant part of the chain he called Búbo. At the foot of this ridge lies the village of Tagabáta, which we passed a little further on.

Enjoying the varied character of the scenery, we continued our march rather slowly, an ass which my companions had bartered on the road lagging behind, and causing us some delay, when we entered a dense underwood of thorny trees which entirely hemmed in our view, while on our right a hilly chain approached, called from a neighbouring village Senu-débu, exactly like the French settlement on the Falémé in the far west.

Proceeding thus onward, we suddenly observed that the covert in front of us was full of armed men. As soon as they became aware that we had observed them, they advanced towards us with the most hostile gesticulations, swinging their spears and fitting their arrows to their bows, and we were just going to fire upon them, when we observed amongst them my servant the Gatróni, whom a short time before I had sent to fetch some water from the river. This fortunate circumstance, suddenly arrested our hostile intentions and led to a peaceable understanding. We were then informed, that obtaining a sight of us from a hill while we were still at a distance, and seeing six armed horsemen, they had taken

us for a hostile host, and had armed themselves; and it was very fortunate for my servant with whom they first met, as well as for ourselves, that one of them understood a little Háusa, and was able to make out from his description the nature of our undertaking. But for this, we should perhaps have been overwhelmed by numbers. The first troop consisted of upwards of 100 men, all armed with bow and spear, and round black shields, many of them wearing a battle-axe besides; and smaller detachments were posted at short intervals up to the very outskirts of their village. They consisted of both Songhay and Fúlbe, and the greater part wore nothing but leather aprons. They wanted us to accompany them to their village, but we did not feel sufficient confidence in them to do so, and were glad when we got rid of them. On this occasion I had another proof of the warlike character of my Arab companion 'Alí el A'geren, who, as long as there was any danger, kept at a respectful distance behind the camels, but, as soon as he saw that all was over, he rushed out on his little pony in the most furious manner, and threatened to put to death the whole body of men, so that I had great difficulty in appeasing him. Probably, if we had had a serious encounter, he would have turned his horse's head, and I should never have seen him again.

When we continued our march, we were gratified to see a wide extent of ground covered with fine cotton plantations; on our left, where the river again approached, much kharrwa, or berkínde, ap-

peared. Further on, fields of millet succeeded to the cotton plantations, and the cultivation now continued without interruption, extending to the slope of the hills, while, on the other side of the river, five villages appeared at short intervals. We then entered upon hilly sandy ground, but even this less favoured tract was covered with fine crops. I had made it a rule, owing to the weakness of my camels, which required a good feed, always to encamp at some distance from a larger place, and we therefore chose our camping-ground about two miles on this side of the town of Bírni, amongst monkey-bread trees and hájilíj, at a short distance from a swampy creek of the river. Our encampment, however, became unpleasant in the extreme, as we had to sustain here a very heavy thunderstorm, accompanied by violent rain.

All the inhabitants of this district are Fúlbe, or Songhay speaking the language of the Fúlbe, the conquering tribe of the latter beginning to prevail here almost exclusively. All of them wear indigo-dyed shirts. We also met here an old man, originally belonging to the tribe of the Událen, a section of Imghád, or degraded Tawárek, but at present in the service of a Púllo, who, assisted by his slaves, was just getting his harvest into the town of Bírni, where he invited us to follow him on the approach of night.

Having lost the greater part of the morning in order to dry ourselves and our animals, we continued our march straight upon a kind of defile, which seemed almost to hem in the passage

Friday,  
July 28th.



along the river. The bank here exhibits a peculiar feature, and the locality would be of the highest importance, if the state of the country was in any way settled, for the hilly chain on the right closely joins a group of rocky eminences which nearly approaches the river, and opening towards it in the shape of a horse-shoe, leaves only a very narrow passage between the south-easterly corner of this semi-circle of the hills, and a detached cone rising close over the brink of the river, the latter being likewise full of rocks. On the slope of the amphitheatre, called Sáre-góru, about half-way up the height, lies the village or town of Bírni\*, presenting a very picturesque spectacle, notwithstanding the frail character of the dwellings.

Even beyond this passage, only a small border is left between the slope of the hills and the river, especially behind the little village of Kollónte, which is separated by a small ravine into two distinct groups, and very pleasantly situated in a fine recess of the hills; at the same time, busy scenes of domestic life attracted our attention. Here the shore formed a bend, and the river glided along in a slow,

\* There is no doubt that this was formerly a place of considerable importance, and commanded the whole of the surrounding district, as the masters of this defile had at the same time in their hands the whole intercourse along the shore. In this respect the name Bírni is not less remarkable than that of Sáre-góru, both "bírni," as well as "sáre," being the names given to cities, or large walled places, in various Negro languages. Sáre-góru means the rivulet or channel (góru) of the city (sáre).

majestic, and undivided stream, but a little further on formed two islands, and, on the main, we observed again that cotton was cultivated. Traversing then a swampy plain, covered with several large farms belonging to people of the Kortére, we reached a small detached chain on our right, called Kirogáji, distinguished by three separate cones. Cultivation here is carried on to a great extent, and the number of horses scattered over the plain, afforded a tolerable proof of the wealth of the inhabitants, and we passed the residence of a rich farmer, called U'ro-Módibo, "úro" being the Púllo term for a farm, and "módibo" the title of a learned gentleman. At the village of Sága also, which, a little more than two miles further on, we left on our right, beyond swampy meadow-grounds, numbers of horses, and extensive cotton plantations attracted our attention.

Three miles beyond Sága, we encamped near a small rivulet lined with luxuriant trees, of the species called gamji, or ganki, at the foot of the hills, the slope of which was covered with the richest crop of millet, and crowned with two villages inhabited by Fúlbe of the tribe of the Bitinkóbe, the river forming a rich and populous island called Bé-gúngu. This place is the residence of a sort of emír of the name of Báte, to whom my companions paid a visit, and obtained from him a supper and a small viaticum.

We made a very interesting day's march. Saturday,  
July 29th.  
The hills, which are here crowned with the various hamlets, form a bend closely approaching the

river, and the path wound along the slope, which was intersected by several ravines full of rocks and trees, and afforded a beautiful view over the stream. Descending from this slope we kept along the bank, richly adorned with kenya or nelbi trees, the river spreading out in one unbroken sheet, interrupted only by a few isolated masses of rock. We here crossed a broad channel or dry watercourse starting forth from the hilly chain, and called Góruł-tilkólil, or Góru-kére. This watercourse my guide, probably erroneously, indicated as a branch of the river Sírba. It was succeeded by several others, one of which, distinguished by its breadth, was called Góruł-luggul. The bank of the river, at this spot, was cultivated with great care, and we passed several farming villages, one of which, called Lellóli, was the residence of a young Púllo woman who had attached herself to our party the preceding day. She was neatly dressed, and adorned with numerous strings of beads, and mounted on a donkey.

Here cultivation, including a good deal of cotton, was carried on with great care, and all the fields were neatly fenced. But this well-cultivated ground was succeeded by a dense and luxuriant underwood, and, in the river, an island of the name of 'Oitilli, or 'Otilli, stretched out to a great length. This probably is the ford originally called Ghútil or Ghúdil. A little beyond, at the distance of about five miles, the soft slope gave way to a small rocky ridge, through which a little rivulet or brook had forced

itself a passage, forming a very picturesque kind of rocky gate, which, when the stream is full, must present an interesting spectacle. But the water contained at the time a quantity of ferruginous substances, and after taking a slight draught I remained in a nauseous state all the day long. It affected one of my companions still more unpleasantly. Here the steep rocky cliffs, consisting of gneiss and mica slate, and interwoven with fine green bushes, closely approached the river, which, in a fine open sheet, was gliding gently along at the rate of about three miles an hour, and we kept close to the margin of the stream, which, during the highest state of the inundation, is scarcely broad enough to afford any passage. The cliffs, with their beautifully stratified front, were so close that even at present only a border a few feet in width was left, and this narrow strip was beautifully adorned with dunku trees, the dark green foliage of which formed a beautiful contrast with the steep white cliffs behind them. The leaves are used by the natives for making a kind of sauce and for seasoning their food, like those of the monkey-bread tree. Further on, underwood of arbutus succeeded. The rocky ledge was interrupted, for a short time exhibiting the aspect of a crumbled wall, but further on again assumed the shape of precipitous cliffs, although less regularly stratified than in its north-westerly part.

This steep range of cliffs is called by the natives, "Yúri." Just where it began to fall off and to be-

come smoother, we were obliged to leave the margin<sup>\*</sup> of the beautiful stream, which, near the bank, apparently descended to a great depth, in order to ascend the higher ground; for here the land juts out into the river in the form of a broad promontory, the whole slope being covered with fine crops, which were just approaching to ripeness. Thus we reached the farming village, or *rúmde*, belonging to Fittia Imám, or, as the name is generally pronounced, Mam Fitti, a wealthy Púllo, who possesses also a farm in the plain at the foot of the promontory close to the river. Here we encamped on the south-east side of the village, where the ground afforded good pasture for the camels.

I had been reposing awhile in the shade of a small *kórna*, when my people informed me that they had discovered, on the slope of the hills, a spring of living water, and I was easily induced, by the novelty of the phenomenon in this region, to accompany them to the spot.

The whole slope is about 500 feet high, and the view from this point across the river is extensive, but towards the south-east it is obstructed by the hills rising in that direction to a greater elevation. This culminating point of the ridge we ascended the next morning, when we found that the highest level expanded to an open plain, well clad with bush and grass and a rich supply of corn, although the crops did not exhibit here the same luxuriant growth as on the slope of the hills. Proceeding then for a mile

along this level, we reached a small village, in the courtyards of which, besides sesamum, a little mekka, as it is here called, or ghafúli-másr, was cultivated. Here I, together with my horsemen, started in advance of my train, in order to prepare our quarters in the town of Say, as we had a good day's march before us. The country here became adorned with gonda bush, of which we had entirely lost sight during our whole journey along the upper course of the Niger. Having passed the larger village Dógo, where with some difficulty we obtained a drop of milk, and having traversed a richly cultivated district, we descended into the valley of Say, along the rugged cliffs which bounded it on the west. But the greater part of the valley was covered with water to such a degree that we became entangled every moment in a swamp, and therefore preferred again ascending the cliffs and keeping along the higher border. In this northerly part the rocky slope attained in general a height of 150 feet, but gradually began to decrease in elevation. About half an hour before noon we changed our direction, and made across the swampy bottom of the valley, traversing two more considerable sheets of water, the first of three, and the second of two and a half feet in depth.

Thus we approached the town of Say, which was scarcely visible owing to the exuberant vegetation which surrounded its wall on every side, and which exhibited a most remarkable contrast to that dryness and monotony, which characterized the place on my

former visit. The town itself was at present intersected by a broad sheet of water, which seemed almost to separate it into two distinct quarters. I at length reached the house of the governor, where I, as well as my horse, were cheerfully recognized as old acquaintances. I was quartered in the same little hut in which I had resided more than a year previously ; but a considerable change had been made in its arrangement. The comfortable little sleeping place of matting had been restored, and was very acceptable in the rainy season, more especially as it did not entirely preclude a current of air, while it enabled me to put away all my small treasures in security.

## CHAP. LXXXI.

SECOND RESIDENCE IN SAY.—JOURNEY THROUGH DÉNDINA  
AND KEBBI.

HAVING rested awhile in my hut, I, with my companions, obeyed the summons of the governor, and found our poor old friend, A'bú-Bakr, in the very same room where we had left him more than a year previously. He was now quite lame in consequence of his disease of scñi, but looked a little better than on the former occasion, and I soon had an opportunity of admiring his accurate knowledge of the country; for, when A'hmed el Wádáwi, had read to him the kasáid or poems addressed by my friend El Bakáy to the emír A'hmedu, and began to relate some of the more remarkable incidents of our journey, he was corrected every moment in the nomenclature of the places by the governor, who appeared to possess the most accurate philological knowledge of all the spots along the river as far as Tóndibi, where he had been obliged to turn his back on his voyage up the Niger. He apparently took great interest in the endeavour of the Sheikh to open a communication with the Fúlbe of Gando and Sókoto, and expressed his deep sorrow that on his former voyage, he was pre-



vented by the hostile behaviour of the chief El Khadír from reaching Timbúktu, when my companions assured him, that the Sheikh, on the first news of his approach, had sent a messenger in order to insure his safety from the Tawárek.

Even if we do not take into account this attempt of his, there is no doubt that the governor of Say is of the utmost importance in the endeavour to ascend this river, and it is only to be lamented that he has not greater means, pecuniary and military, at his disposal, in order to draw from the favourable position of his province all the results possible. Altogether his circumstances at this moment, especially in consequence of the rebellion of the province of Déndina, were rather poor. At the same time his own debilitated condition prevents him from exerting his power, and can only tend to increase his political weakness. The rather inhospitable treatment which we received may thus be explained. Nevertheless, I made him this time a considerable present, including a red bernús of inferior quality, which I had kept back for the occasion. However I was so fortunate, in acknowledgment for some medicines with which I endeavoured to alleviate his complaint, as to receive from him a small piece of sugar, which was a great treat to me, as I had long been deprived of this luxury, there being none in the market; and when we left the place, after a stay of three days, he was generous enough to make my companions a present of a camel, of which they stood much in need.

The market was, in many respects, better provided than on our outward journey; but with this advantage was coupled the great disadvantage to me personally that a large troop of Háusa traders having recently arrived and richly supplied the market with the manufactures of that region, the prices at present ranged much lower, and for the very best indigo-dyed shirt, I obtained only 6000 shells, while two others did not fetch more than 2000 each. Millet was plentiful, although by no means cheap, the third part of a suníye, or twenty-four measures of Timbúktu, being sold for 4000 shells, consequently twice or thrice as dear as in the latter place; but there was hardly any rice. There was not a single sheep in the market, nor any horned cattle, either for slaughtering or for carrying burdens; nor were there any dodówa cakes or tamarinds; nay, even the fruit of the monkey-bread tree, or kúka, was wanting; the only small luxury which was to be found in the market, besides the fruit of the dúmpalm, consisting of fresh onions, certainly a great comfort in these regions.

Such is the miserable character of this market, which, in such a position, situated on the shore of this magnificent river, and on the principal highroad between Eastern and Western Negroland, ought to be of primary importance. It was with great delight that the feeble but well-meaning governor listened to my discourse, when, on taking leave, I led him to hope that an English steamer would, please God, soon

come to ascend the river, and supplying his place of residence with all kinds of European articles, would raise it to a market-place of great importance; and he was the more agreeably affected by such prospects, as my friendly relation with the Sheikh El Bakáy had convinced him of the peaceable intentions of the Europeans.

Wednesday.  
August 2nd.

It was in the afternoon that we left our narrow quarters in the town of Say, which had appeared to us the more inconvenient, as we had experienced several thunder-storms, which had obliged us to take refuge in the interior of our narrow huts. Before reaching the bank of the river, we had to cross a large sheet of water, which here likewise intersected the town, filling out the whole hollow bordered by the dúm-palms, and causing a serious interruption in the communication of the different quarters of the town. Nevertheless, the level of the river at present seemed only about five feet higher than it had been the previous year, a little earlier in the season, and the inconvenience must be greatly increased when the water reaches a higher level. It is a wonder that the town is not sometimes entirely swamped, although we must not forget that the river, the preceding year, had attained an unusual height, so that the water this year could scarcely have sunk to its average level before it had again commenced rising. The rocky cliff which obstructs the river about the middle of its course, at present only emerged from the water about a foot and a half. According to all appear-

ances it must sometimes be entirely submerged, so that vessels must be upon their guard in navigating this part of the river, especially as it is not improbable that there are more sunken rocks hereabouts.

It was with a deep feeling of satisfaction that I again crossed this magnificent river, on whose banks I had lived for so long a time, and the course of which I had followed for so many hundred miles. It would have been of no small importance, if I had been able to follow its banks as far as Yaúri, and thus to connect by my own inspection the middle course of this noble river with the lower part, as far as it has been visited by the Landers, and partly, at least, by various distinguished English officers. But such an undertaking was entirely out of the question, on account of the exhausted state of my means, the weak condition of my health, and the advanced stage of the rainy season, which made it absolutely necessary for me to reach Sókoto as soon as possible; and, what was still more, in consequence of the rebellious state of the province of Déndina, which at the time made any intercourse along the river impossible for so small a troop as I had then under my command. At this season of the year, moreover, it would be impracticable, even if the country were in a tranquil state, to keep close along the banks of the river.

This time also I had succeeded in crossing the river without any accident, with the single exception, that a camel which belonged to one of my companions was so obstinate, that it was found im-

possible to induce it to enter the boats, which were not of the same size as those of the preceding year. It was thus forced to cross the river by swimming alongside, and arrived in the most exhausted state, the river being about 900 yards across. The nearest village being too far off, we were obliged to encamp for the night on the gentle grassy slope of the bank, which, a little above and below the place of embarkation, forms steep cliffs of about 80 feet elevation. The evening was beautiful, and the scenery of the river, with the feathery dún-palms on the opposite shore, was lovely in the extreme, and well adapted to leave on my mind a lasting impression of the magnificent watery highroad which Nature has opened into the heart of this continent. Thus I took leave of the Niger.

Thursday,      We now commenced our journey along our  
3rd August.      former well-known path, which, however, in the richer garment of vegetable life in which Nature had decked herself out, presented now a very different aspect, and after a march of six miles, we reached the village of Tóndifú, surrounded by fine crops of millet, which were almost ripe, and of the very remarkable height of fifteen to twenty feet. In order to protect their property from the attacks of the numberless swarms of birds, almost the whole population was scattered through this forest-like plantation, and kept up such a continual noise and clamour, that it had quite an alarming effect, more especially as the people were concealed from view.

Having then kept along the fáddama as far as the village of Tanna, we\* left our former route, for a more northerly direction, and after a march of five miles reached the miserable remains of a hamlet called Jídder, which the preceding year had been ransacked and entirely destroyed by the Jermábe, as the inhabitants of Zerna, or Zabérna, are called by the Fúlbe. But the fine crops around testified to the natural fertility of the soil. In this village, which has a well surrounded by dúin-palms, it had been our intention to halt; but through a ridiculous misunderstanding of my Méjebrí companion, who never could shorten the march sufficiently, but who this time was punished for his troublesome conduct, we continued on, and leaving the village of Hari-bango at some distance on our right, did not reach another hamlet till after a march of about five miles more. This place, which is called Mínge, had been likewise ransacked by the enemy in the turbulent state of the country, and exhibited a most miserable appearance; but here also there was a good deal of cultivation, and I was not a little astonished at finding, in such a desolate place, a man who was retailing meat in his hut, but on further inquiry, it proved to be the flesh of a sick animal, a few head of cattle having remained in the possession of the inhabitants.

In order to avoid sleeping in the dirty huts, I had pitched my tent on the grassy ground, but was so much persecuted by a species of hairy ant, such as I had not observed before, that I obtained almost less

sleep than the preceding night on the banks of the Niger, where mosquitoes had swarmed.

Friday,  
August 4th. This day brought me to Tánkala; my camels pursuing a shorter and I a more circuitous route, but both arriving at the same time at the gate of this town. It had been my intention, from the beginning, to visit this place; but the turbulent state of the country had induced me the year before to follow a more direct road, and I did not learn until now, that on that occasion A'bú el Hassan, as soon as he heard of my approach, had sent four horsemen to Gárbo, in order to conduct me to his presence; but they did not arrive till after I had left that place. The town of Tánkala, which gives great celebrity to this region, had suffered considerably during the revolution of Zabérma; and if the bulky crops of native corn (which were just ripe) had not hid the greater part of the town from view, it would most probably have presented even a more dilapidated appearance; for not only was the wall which surrounded the place in a great state of decay; but even the house of the governor himself was reduced almost to a heap of ruins. It was rather remarkable that, as I approached the building, a female slave, of rather light yellowish colour, saluted me, the white man, in a familiar manner, as if I had been a countryman and co-religionist of hers. She belonged, I think, to a tribe to the south of A'damáwa.

Having then paid our respects to the governor,

we returned to our quarters, which, although not so objectionable in themselves, were so closely surrounded by the crops that we could scarcely find a spot to tie up our horses; and the huts were so full of all sorts of vermin that I scarcely got a moment's repose during my stay here. Besides the common plague of different species of ants and numberless swarms of mosquitoes, to my great surprise I found the place also full of fleas,—an insect which I had not seen since I had left Kúkawa, and which formerly was believed to be entirely wanting in Negroland. Thus I had sufficient reason to lament that I had here been obliged to take up my quarters inside the town; the place being situated at the brink of a swampy valley, the dallul Bosso filled at present with water and dúm-palms, and the crops surrounding the wall so closely that no space was left to pitch a tent.

It was just market-day, but besides meat, sour milk, tobacco, and pepper, nothing was to be got. Millet was very dear; indeed, the poor state of the market was well adapted to confirm the report that the greater part of the inhabitants were subsisting on the fruit of the dúm-palm. However, I had no affairs to transact in this town besides paying my compliments to the governor, and therefore was not compelled to make a long stay. But my business with the latter was of rather a peculiar character, the people assuring me that he was very angry with me for not having paid him a visit the previous year.



My companions, the followers of the Sheikh, even wanted to make me believe that he objected to see me at all ; but I entertained a strong suspicion that this was only a petty trick played by them to further their own interest ; for, being supplied by the Sheikh with a present for this governor, they wanted to claim for themselves all the merit of the visit. Having declared that if the governor did not want to see me, he should certainly not obtain a present from me, I very speedily obtained an audience, and was so graciously received, that I could scarcely believe that he had entertained any hostile feeling towards me ; for on my entrance he rose from his seat, or divan, made of reed, and met me at the door.

Responding to his cordiality in the most friendly manner, I told him that only the most urgent circumstances and the advice of my own guide, the messenger of Khalilu, had induced me the preceding year to act contrary to my own well-determined principle, which was, to make friendship with all governors possessed of power and authority along my road ; and that, in consequence of his warlike disposition and straightforward and chivalrous character, he had become known to me long before, and occupied the first rank among those whom I intended to visit. My speech, backed by a tolerable present, made a very favourable impression upon the governor, especially when he understood that it was I who had induced the Sheikh to honour him with a mission ; and he entered into a very friendly conver-

sation, admitting that the Jermábe, or the inhabitants of Zerma, had really pressed him very severely the last year, till he had at last succeeded in vanquishing their host and killing a great number of them.

We then read to him the letter of the Sheikh, who bestowed great praise upon my character, and recommended me in the most favourable terms. Sídi A'hmed made a most eloquent speech, especially as regarded the sanctity and learning of his master, who, he said, was very anxious to establish peaceable intercourse along the Niger, and wanted A'bú el Hassan to prevent the Berber tribe of the Kél-gerés and Dínnik from continuing their predatory expeditions upon the territory and against the people of Alkút-tabu. The energetic governor, feeling flattered by these compliments, took very graciously the hints which my eloquent friend threw out, that, besides his other noble efforts, the Sheikh had no objection to having homage paid to his exalted position by a small number of decent presents; and two of the pupils of the Sheikh, Mohammed ben Mukhtár and Máleki, were pointed out to him as the persons who would remain here, in order to receive at his hand the presents destined for the Sheikh at the earliest possible opportunity. This whole business having been transacted in the presence of only one or two of his most confidential friends, the governor had all his courtiers again called in, when Sídi A'hmed read to them the poem in which the Sheikh had satirized the

chief of Hamda-Alláhi, A'hmedu ben A'hmedu, on account of his not being able to catch me, which caused a great deal of merriment, but of course could only be appreciated by those who had a very good knowledge of Arabic, of which the greater part of the audience probably did not understand a single word. It was rather a curious circumstance that these people should express their satisfaction at the failure of an undertaking of their own countrymen.

Altogether A'bú el Hassan made a favourable impression upon me. He was by no means a man of stately appearance, or of commanding manners, and his features wanted the expressive cast which in general characterises the Fúlbe; and being destitute of any beard, he looked much younger than he really was, as his age can certainly not be much under sixty. His skin was very fair, and his dress of great simplicity, consisting of a shirt and turban of white colour, the red bernús which my companions had presented to him only hanging loosely from his shoulders. He is a native of the island of Ansóughu where his forefathers were settled from ancient times; and it is entirely owing to his personal courage and his learning that he has reached the position he now occupies. A'bú el Hassan, seems fully to deserve to be under the orders of a more energetic liege lord than the monkish and lazy Khalílu, who allows his kingdom to be shattered to pieces; and in any attempt to ascend the Niger, the governor of Támkala is of considerable importance. The principal weakness of his

position consists in his want of horses, as he is thus prevented from following up the partial successes which he at times obtains over his enemies.

Having thus met with full success in our transactions with the governor, we left the audience hall, (which struck me by its simple mode of architecture,) consisting of a long narrow room covered with a gabled roof thatched with reed, such as are common in Yóruba. On returning to my quarters I distributed my last presents among those of my companions who were to remain here, and handed them a letter for the Sheikh, wherein I again assured him of my attachment to his family, and expressed the hope that, even at a great distance, we might not cease to cultivate our mutual friendship.

It had been our intention this time to choose the road by Junju, the place which I have mentioned before as lying on the northern part of the course of the dallul Máuri; but the governor advised us urgently to avoid this place, which, being only of small size, and not strong enough to follow a certain line of policy, was open to the intrigues of friends as well as enemies.

Before we started, the governor sent me a camel as a present, but I gave it to my Sunday,  
August 6th. companions, although my own animals were in a very reduced state. There was a good deal of cultivation along the track which we pursued, but the irregular way in which the crops had sprung up, did not seem to testify to any considerable degree of care

and industry; but my people argued that famished men, like the distressed inhabitants of this town, did not possess sufficient energy for cultivating the ground.

Following a southerly direction we approached nearer the border of the dallul, or ráfi, the surface of which alternately presented higher or lower ground, the depressions being of a swampy character. Towards the east the valley was bordered by a chain of hills, rising to a considerable elevation, on the top of which an isolated baobab tree indicated the site of a place called Gáwó, by which the road leads from Támkala to Junju. Gradually the cultivation decreased, and was for a while succeeded by dúm-bush, from which a very fine but solitary gamji tree started forth. However, the country further on improved and began to exhibit an appearance of greater industry, consisting of corn-fields and small villages, half of which indicated by their names their origin from the Songhay; others pointed to Háusa. All of them were surrounded by fine crops, and one called Bommo-hógu was furnished with a small market-place. It was a cheering incident that an inhabitant of the village of Gátara, which we passed further on, gave vent to his generous feelings by presenting me with a gift of fifty shells, which I could not refuse, although I handed them to my companions. It was here also that we met the only horsemen whom we had seen in the province. They had rather an energetic and stately appearance. Having passed a small market-

place situated in the midst of the corn-fields, and at present empty, we reached the village of Báshi, where we expected to find quarters prepared for us, but were only able, after a great deal of delay, to procure a rather indifferent place.

We were glad to meet here a native traveller, or mai-falké, from Wurno, who communicated to us the most recent news from Háusa and Kebbi, although very little was to be told of the chivalrous deeds of the two great Fállani chiefs 'Alíyu and Khalílu, both of whom were accelerating the ruin of their nation. About an hour after our arrival, we were joined by a native duke, who, according to the arrangement of the governor of 'Támkala, was to perform the journey through the unsafe wilderness of Fógħa in our company. This man was 'Abdú serkí-n-Chíko, lord of Chíko, or, to speak correctly, lord of the wilderness; his title, or "ráwani" (properly shawl or turban), being just as empty and vain as many others in Europe, the town of Chíko having many years previously been destroyed by the enemy. But, whatever the hollowness of his title might be, he himself was of noble birth, being the son of 'Abd e' Salám \*, who was well-known as being once the independent master of the important and wealthy town of Jéga, which had made so long and successful resistance against 'Othmán, the Jihádi; Bokhári, the present ruler of that place, was 'Abdú's brother. Besides his noble

\* The original residence of 'Abd e' Salám had been Kóri, from whence he had carried on war with 'Othmán for five years.

descent, the company of this man proved to be interesting, for he displayed all the pomp peculiar to the petty Háusa chiefs, marching to the sound of drums and horns. He was richly decked out with a green bernús, and mounted on a sprightly charger, although his whole military force numbered only three horsemen and six archers; and his retinue had by no means a princely appearance, consisting of a motley assemblage of slaves, cattle, sheep, and all sorts of encumbrances. But, notwithstanding this empty show, he was a welcome companion on the infested road before me, and when he paid me a visit in my hut, I at once presented him with a fine black ráwani, thus confirming on my part the whole of his titles. He at once proceeded to give me a proof of his knowledge of the world and of his intelligence, and I found sundry points of resemblance between him and Mohammed-Bóró, my noble friend of A'gades. Having been joined here also by two attendants of 'Abd el Káderi, a younger brother of Khalílu, there seemed to be a sufficient guarantee for the safety of our march. The village where I fell in with these people was rather poorly supplied with provisions, and neither milk nor anything else was to be got, and, owing to the number of mosquitoes, repose was quite out of the question.

Monday, A moderate rain which came on in the  
August 7th. morning, delayed us for some time. Our route lay through a rich country, at times exhibiting traces of careful cultivation, at others left to its

own wild luxuriant growth. Having passed the village of Belánde, which was adorned by numbers of dúm-palms, and the extensive hamlet called U'rō-emíro, we entered more properly the bottom of the valley or ráfi, being already at this season for a great part covered with swamps, which, a month later, render the communication extremely difficult, although at times, the ground rises a few feet higher than the ordinary level. But although this low ground is extremely well adapted for the cultivation of rice, very little was at present actually to be seen.

At length we thought that we had entirely left the swampy ground behind us; but about a mile and a half beyond the village Gerláje, which we left on one side, we had to cross a very deep and broad swamp, in which one of the last of my camels fell down and died. Three miles beyond, we reached the village of Gárbo, which was already familiar to me from my outward journey, although I was scarcely able to recognize it, so great was the change produced by the rich vegetation, and the crops of millet and sorghum which had sprung up through the influence of the rainy season. But the inhabitants also, elated by the hope which the prospect of a rich harvest held out to them, exhibited a far more cheerful temperament than on my former visit, and immediately led me through the narrow lanes to the house of the emír, who received me in a hearty manner as an old friend. On entering into conversation with him, I was not a little



astonished to find that he was acquainted with all the incidents of my stay in Timbúktu. He quartered me in the same small but neatly arranged hut where I had been lodged during my former stay, and from which I felt rather sorry to drive away the industrious landlady. The governor treated me in an extremely hospitable manner, sending me, besides milk and corn, even a small heifer, although I had made him only a very trifling present. His name is 'Abd el Waháb, and he is a brother of A'bú el Hassan by his father's side. With such cheerful treatment we enjoyed our stay here very much, the weather having cleared up, and a rainy morning being succeeded by a fine afternoon.

The friendly disposition of the governor was the more agreeable, as we were delayed here the following day, several of my companions being disabled by sickness, and the Serkí-n-Chíko wanting to lay in a supply of corn for the road. I spent a great deal of my leisure time, thus involuntarily obtained, in the company of the latter, who detailed to me the incidents of the struggle of his family with the Jihádi, and dilated on the importance of the town of Jéga, which is a market place of great consequence, especially for rough silk, with which it supplies the whole of Zánfara, and even the distant market of Alóri, or Ilóri. In fact, I am quite sure that the silk which has been obtained from the missionary station in Yóruba, is nothing but the selfsame article introduced into this country from Tripoli, and again exported

from thence to Háusa. In my conversation with this man, he mentioned a circumstance which struck me as peculiar, that the Háusa people have no general name for the Songhay. Their only designation for them is Yammatáwa, meaning the western people, a term which is only used in opposition to Gabbes-táwa, the "eastern people," without any regard to nationality.

On leaving the village of Gárbo, we were induced to follow the traces of our Háusa companion, and to ascend directly the steep rocky passage which we had turned on our former journey; but we found that this time also the proverb was confirmed, that "the more haste the less speed," for the passage proved so difficult that all the luggage fell from the backs of the camels, and caused us a great deal of delay. However, as soon as we reached the flat level of the forest, we proceeded onward without interruption till we had passed our former place of encampment. Finding no water here we pushed on, but, unfortunately, on account of part of our caravan having gone on in advance, we were prevented from encamping before the storm, which had gathered over our heads during the afternoon, broke forth, when the whole ground was in a moment so deeply covered with water that it was impossible to encamp. Thus, although drenched to the skin, we were obliged to keep on, in the most uncomfortable manner, till we found a little higher ground, where the branches of a sylvan encampment supplied us with the means of

Wednesday,  
August 9th.

protecting our luggage against the extreme humidity of the ground. It is such encampments as these which are the cause of so much unhealthiness to travellers, and I did not feel at all comfortable until, with great difficulty, I had lighted a fire inside my wet tent, the rain continuing outside with increased violence. But the weather affected my people, who were less protected than myself, in such a manner, that they were shivering with wet and cold in the morning, and we did not get off until a late hour.

Having met some energetic and warlike-looking horsemen from Fógha, and passing several small ponds, we descended a little, and then proceeding over the hilly ground, which was more scantily timbered, we gradually approached the remarkable valley of Fógha. As I had decided upon visiting the town of Kalliyul, I was obliged to change here my direction to the south-west, keeping along the side of the valley. The narrow footpath was now overgrown with rank grass, and the numerous salt-manufacturing hamlets were destitute of life and animation, and overgrown with vegetation. We were also glad, for the sake of the famished inhabitants of this district, to see the fields waving with tolerably rich crops, and a few cattle grazing about. Some animation was caused by an encampment of native traders which we passed, consisting of light sheds built of reed.

Proceeding thus onwards we reached the town of

Kallíyul, and were here received outside the gate by two horsemen, when I was without delay quartered in a large and clean hut built of clay, and about thirty feet in diameter. I had scarcely made myself comfortable, when Señína, and the most respectable of the inhabitants, came to pay their compliments to me in the most cheerful manner, saluting me as an old acquaintance and as an enterprising and successful traveller; while I, in my turn, complimented them on account of their having retrieved some of their losses by capturing a fine herd of cattle from the enemy. I was glad to see that they were not in such a famished condition as when I was here a year previously, and I gratefully acknowledged the moderate proof of hospitality which they were able to bestow upon me, consisting of a little túwo, a large quantity of milk, and a few kóla nuts. I rewarded their kindness as well as I was able under my present reduced circumstances.

It was here that I learnt with certainty the death of my friend the vizier of Bórnu; for although the governor of Say, when we read to him the general letter of recommendation which the Sheikh el Bakáy had written for me, had remarked that 'Omár was no longer ruler of Bórnu, and had thrown out some hints respecting the death of the vizier, those indications were too vague to be relied on; but now circumstances were mentioned in such a positive manner that I could no longer entertain a doubt as to

the truth of the report, and it was with some anxiety that I thought of Mr. Vogel and his companions, and my own affairs in the country of Bórnu.

Towards evening I wandered about a little, and found the town only scantily inhabited, although, as I have said before, the hamlets for manufacturing salt are almost deserted at this time of year, as no salt can be obtained as long as the bottom of the valley is covered with water. The situation of the place is of considerable strength, being defended not only by the wall on the east side, but also by a swamp on the west side, at least during part of the year; and it is this circumstance which renders it more intelligible how the inhabitants have been able to defend themselves against the repeated attacks of the revolted Déndi.

The greatest object of interest for me, and which would alone have rewarded a visit to the place, was a specimen of an oil-palm, *Elais Guineensis*, quite isolated, but, together with some palm bushes of the same species, serving to prove that this palm can thrive, even in the interior, in localities where the soil is impregnated with salt, as is here the case; although in general it is assumed, and seems to be proved by experience, that it cannot grow at any great distance from the ocean.

We had taken up our quarters inside the town, in consequence of the statement of 'Abdú that we should be able to cross the valley at this spot, but to my great disappointment I learned that I should have to retrace my steps for some miles, as far as the spot where I had

crossed the valley on my outward journey. In order therefore not to lose more time than was necessary, I left the place in the afternoon of the next day, intending to encamp beyond the valley at the entrance of the forest. After a good deal of opposition from my companions, I effected my purpose, being escorted out of the town by Señína, with two mounted archers, and followed by all the people who wanted to take the same road; for as soon as they saw me marching out with confidence, they all followed, one after the other, and encamped close round my tent, which I had pitched on the eminence above the valley near the dúm-palms, as if it were a talisman to protect them against any attack; and midnight had scarcely passed, when the drum of 'Abdú was heard in the distance, indicating that he also did not tarry. But in consequence of the laziness of my people, whom the numbers of mosquitoes had scarcely allowed to close their eyes, he arrived before we had prepared our luggage, so that we did not get off until three o'clock in the morning; and, owing to a pack-ox belonging to 'Abdú having fallen down in the narrow path in the forest, we lost another hour before we could fairly proceed.

Marching then onwards without further delay, we reached, half an hour before noon, the site of Débe, in the dense thicket of the forest, which was inundated with water, and made a short halt, without dismounting, in order to allow the Háusa people to drink their furá. There were about one hundred fatáki or native

traders, most of them bearing their little merchandise on pack-oxen or asses, but some of them carrying it on their heads as *dan-garúnfu*. Having refreshed ourselves, we continued our march, but, frightened by a thunder-storm which was gathering over our heads, encamped near a shallow pond of water. However, there was but little rain, and we had a tolerably quiet evening. Here also we suffered greatly from the mosquitoes, which, together with the extreme insecurity of the communication, are the great drawback to the full enjoyment of a journey through Kebbi.

Sunday,  
August 13th. About two miles from our starting-point, having slightly ascended, we had again to descend the steep rocky passage, the rising ground before us, with its dense timber, appearing like a chain of mountains. Having then ascended again, we reached the *tebki*, or pond, which I have mentioned on my outward journey, and being thirsty, we all went to drink, but found the water so abominable, that all my companions from *Timbúktu* were attacked with serious illness, especially *Sídi A'hmed*, who was seized suddenly with such a severe attack of fever that he declared the water to have been poisoned. But although it is not totally impossible that the enemy might have poisoned the pond—from which they knew that all the passers-by supplied themselves with water—with some herb or other, I think that its unwholesome character was caused in the same manner as the water of the brook near *U'ro Béleng*,

which had made one of my companions and myself ill on a former occasion.

Having again descended a rocky passage, we passed the site of a former encampment of Sultan Bello, which he used as his head-quarters when he destroyed the towns of Débe and Kúka. The sight of this place, together with the remembrance of the ruinous warfare which had proceeded from thence, gave my companions an opportunity of expatiating on the great strength of Kebbi in former times, when the whole of Gúrma, with all the Songhay places as far as Téra, were subject to them; but I never heard that the dominion of this country, or of any province of Háusa, had ever extended as far as Tinbúktu. Proceeding then cheerfully on, we reached the first monkey-bread trees at the border of the forest, and were greatly delighted at the sight of the fine herds of cattle belonging to the inhabitants of Tilli, with the rich crops, part of which was already cut in order to satisfy the most urgent wants of the population. The whole district, together with its fine timber, which had now put forth its utmost exuberance of foliage, left a very pleasing impression.

Thus we reached the town of Tilli, but the western gate being very narrow, we had to turn round half the circumference of the wall in order to reach the eastern entrance; but having at length penetrated into the interior, we were lodged close to the western gate, where we had arrived an hour previously. I had thus the advantage of getting a good insight into the



relations of the population of this place, and found the town to be much better off and more densely inhabited than Zogírma. But while the governor of the latter town ranks like a petty sultan, and has some cavalry under his command, that of Tilli is a mere mayor, without rank or authority. The present governor, whose name is Búba-Sadíki, enjoyed still less authority from personal reasons, as he was prostrated with the same illness which had lamed the governor of Say. This "señi," or rheumatism, as I have stated on former occasions, is a kind of disease of which every African traveller who exposes himself a great deal during the rainy season, particularly along swampy regions and in leaky boats, is very susceptible. I suffered dreadfully from it after my return to Bórnu.

While the télamíd of the Sheikh went in person to the governor in order to alleviate, if possible, his enfeebled state by means of their prayers and blessing, I made him a small present, and he sent me some rice in acknowledgment. The little market was tolerably well supplied, and I was very glad to find here, besides sorghum, the large wholesome onions of Gando, and some dodówa, sour milk also being in considerable abundance; and it was interesting to observe how much more cheerful all the inhabitants were under the present circumstances, than they had been the previous year. I should have liked very much to have paid my compliments to my friend of Zogírma, in order to see

how he was going on after being relieved from a great part of the anxiety which appeared to oppress him the year before; but fearing the delay, I resolved to make direct from here to Birni-n-Kebbi.

We had heard already on our journey that we had arrived at the very latest Monday,  
August 14th. time in order to cross, with any degree of safety, the swampy fâddama of the gúlbi-n-Sókoto, which a little later in the season is extremely difficult to pass. At all events it was very fortunate that no rain had fallen for the last few days, or we should have experienced considerable difficulty in crossing this swampy ground: even as it was, we had to traverse three sheets of water, the first of which was about three feet deep and of considerable breadth, the second forming the real bed of the river, running with a south-westerly bend towards the Kwára, although not so wide as the former, and the third forming a stagnant creek. Having passed some ricefields, we at length, after a march of a little more than three miles, emerged from the swampy bottom of the valley, and ascended rising ground covered with the fine crops belonging to the inhabitants of Diggi, and soon after left the town itself on our right, which from our former journey had remained in our remembrance, as we had here been met by the chivalrous sons of the governor of Zogírma. Here dukhn and durra were grown promiscuously in the same field, affording a proof that this ground is well adapted for both kinds of cultivation.

Having here fallen into our former road, I hastened on in advance along the well-known path towards Birni-n-Kebbi, which however now exhibited a different character, on account of the whole country being covered with tall crops; and turning round the walls of Kóla, we reached the gate of Birni-n-Kebbi. The aspect of this town had likewise undergone an entire change, but not to its advantage; the town, which of itself is narrow, being still more hemmed in by the crops. For the moment, the place had certainly a rather desolate appearance, the greater part of the inhabitants being engaged in an expedition led on by 'Abd el Káderi, or as he is commonly called, 'Abd el Káderi-ay, a younger brother of K'hálilu. As I rode up to the house of the *mágaji* or governor, Mohammed Lowel, he was just sitting in his parlour with a few of his people, when he, or rather his attendants, having recognized me as his old acquaintance 'Abd el Kerím, came out to salute me in a very cheerful manner. However, the expedition being expected to return the same evening, there was no room for us inside the town, and we were obliged to seek shelter outside, descending the steep and rugged slope to the border of the *fáddama*, where we obtained, with difficulty, quarters for myself, in an isolated farm. The hut was extremely small, and full of ants; but the door was provided with a peculiar kind of curtain, made of the leaves of the *deléb-palm*, which, while admitting access, entirely excluded the mosquitoes, which infested this place in enormous

quantities. We were well treated by the owner, or maigida, of the farm, in conformance with the orders which he received from the mágaji, to whom I sent a small present, reminding him of the larger gift which I had given him the preceding year. His hospitality was the more acceptable, as the market was very badly supplied, neither millet nor rice being procurable; sour milk also was extremely dear, as on account of the crops, and the quantity of water covering the valley, the cattle had been all sent off to a great distance, into the neighbourhood of Gando.

Late in the evening the expedition returned, bringing about one hundred head of cattle and thirty slaves, whom they had captured from the enemy. But although the commander of the expedition was to return to Gando himself, I did not like to wait for him, and started early the next morning along our old path, which was only distinguished at present by the quantity of water with which it was covered, especially near the village Háusáwa, where the whole shallow bed of the valley formed one sheet of water three feet deep. A good deal of cultivation of rice was at present to be seen. Thus we reached Gúlumbé, where, this time, in consequence of the quantity of rain that had fallen, inundating the ground outside close up to the wall, I took up my quarters inside the town, and obtained tolerably good lodgings, the courtyard being surrounded by a most exuberant growth of vegetation, and the finest timber; but the mayor did not treat us quite so well as I expected, although I made him

a present of a black shawl. The market here also being badly provided, I had great difficulty in obtaining a sufficient supply of corn for my horse.

We had scarcely left the narrow lanes of the town with its extraordinary exuberance of vegetation, when the rain set in, so that we were wet both from above and below, the path either leading through tall crops, or through pools of stagnant water. The path further on, according to the information which we collected from people whom we met on the road, being entirely inundated, when we reached that western branch of the fáddama near the village of Badda-badda, we followed a more southerly direction to the large open village Kóchi, where we intended passing the night. But it was with the utmost difficulty that we obtained lodgings, nor did we experience the least sign of hospitality, and while an immense quantity of rain fell outside, I was greatly tormented by the number of mosquitoes, which were insufficiently excluded from my hut by a stiff piece of leather hung before the door.

Thursday,  
August 17th. As soon as the weather allowed us we left this inhospitable village, and soon afterwards entered forest, to which succeeded fine crops of corn. Four miles beyond Kóchi, we had to cross a large fáddama full of water, and intersected in the middle by a running stream, bordered by great numbers of water lilies, and giving us altogether a fair idea of the difficulties attending travelling through this country at the present season of the

year. A month later it would be entirely impassable for a European traveller encumbered with any amount of luggage. But the road was tolerably well frequented, and we were met by a long train of broad-shouldered square built Núpe females, each with a load of from six to eight enormous calabashes on her head, journeying to the Friday market of Jéga.

This is the important place, which, under the command of 'Abd e' Salám, had made a long and successful resistance against the author of the reformatory movement of the Fúlbe, and which, on account of its mercantile importance, had attracted attention in Europe a good many years ago; and although it has declined at present from its former importance, it was still of sufficient consequence to make me desirous of visiting it; but the great quantity of rain which fell at this time by rendering the communication very difficult for loaded camels, prevented me from executing my design. A little further on I met with one of those incidents which, although simple and unimportant in their character, yet often serve to cheer the solitary traveller in foreign countries, more than the most brilliant reception. After having crossed a valley, we were ascending the last rocky passage before coming to Gando, when we met here a troop of men, and as soon as one of them saw me in the distance, he broke out into the cheering exclamation, "Márhaba, márhaba, 'Abd el Kerím." It was highly gratifying to me when returning after a long absence

to a place where I had resided for so short a time, to be recognized immediately and saluted in so hearty a manner, although my stay in Gando was connected with many a melancholy reminiscence.

Here, on the top of the rocky eminence, we obtained a view of the valley of Gando, and, descending, soon reached the gate of the town, and straightway rode to the house of the monkish prince, where we were soon surrounded by a number of people, who congratulated me on my fortunate return. After a while, there appeared also my tormentor, El Bakáy, which name now appeared to me as a mere satire, associating as it did this vilest of Arabs with that noble man who had showed me so much disinterested friendship. But when he again commenced his old tactics, I immediately made a serious protest, declaring at once, that the only thing which it was in my power to give him this time, was a black tobe and a red cap; and this I assured him he should not get until the very moment when I was about to leave the place. The dismal clay-house, where I had been lodged during my former stay in the place, had since fallen in; and other quarters were assigned to me, consisting of a courtyard and two huts.

## CHAP. LXXXII.

## SECOND STAY IN GANDO, SÓKOTO, AND WURNÓ.

THE quarters which had been allotted to me this time, were at least a little more airy than my former ones. My former guide, Dahóme, here paid me a visit. Upon asking him whether he had faithfully delivered to the mállem 'Abd el Káder, in Sókoto, the parcel I had given him on his taking leave of me at Dóre, he put on a rather sullen look, took from his cap a small leather case, opened it, and drawing forth a dirty piece of paper, to my utmost surprise and disappointment, exclaimed, "Here is your letter!" I then learned, that in consequence of the violent rains through which he had had to make his way, and the many rivers and swamps which he had to cross, the whole envelope of the letter, containing the lines addressed to my friend in Sókoto, had been destroyed, so that the latter, receiving only the English letter, and not knowing what to do with this hieroglyphic, at length returned it to the bearer, who had since used it as a charm. Besides this mishap, which had delayed this letter so long, instead of its being forwarded directly to Europe in order to inform my friends of my proceedings, there was another dis-



agreeable piece of information for me here; viz., that nearly the half of the huts composing the town had been consumed during my absence by a conflagration, and that all my books which I had left behind had in consequence been destroyed.

I stayed four days in Gando, endeavouring once more, in vain, to obtain an audience from the prince, and to persuade my companions, the *télamid*, to give up their hopes of a handsome present from this nig-gardly man, who sent me, if I may attribute the proceedings of his slaves to himself, in return for all the presents I had made him, a common black robe and 3000 shells, although my supplies were totally exhausted, and the two camels which I still possessed were more or less worn out, so that I stood greatly in need of generous aid. But not wanting anything besides from the governor, I was thankful that I had passed unmolested through his extensive dominions, on my outward as well as on my home journey, and even protected, as far as his feeble power was able to grant protection.

The town was no better off now than it had been a year before, the expedition against Argúngo, of which I had heard on the road as being undertaken by 'Alíyu, having turned out a mere sham, and in consequence the pagan rebels being stronger and more daring than ever; and, just as was the case during my former residence, there was an expedition on a small scale every Tuesday and Thursday, made by the old people and the women, in order to collect

wood with some degree of security. On the whole, there was nothing of interest to record, except the remarkable quantity of rain which fell during my stay, and which was said to have fallen before my arrival, confirming the impression already previously received in my mind, that Gando was one of those places most abundantly supplied with the watery element; and it was highly interesting for me to learn from the people on this occasion, that, as a general rule, they reckon upon ninety-two rainy days annually. I am quite sure that the average rain-fall in this place is certainly not less than sixty inches; but it is probably more than eighty, and perhaps even one hundred.

I was heartily glad when I left this town, Wednesday, August 23rd. where I had experienced a great deal of trouble, although I could not but acknowledge, that if I had not succeeded in some degree in securing the friendship of the ruling men in this place, it would not have fallen to my lot to have reached even the banks of the Niger.

It is to be hoped that Khalilu will soon be succeeded by a more energetic prince, who will restore peace and security to the extensive dominions of which Gando is the capital. Under such circumstances, this town, on account of its mercantile connections with the provinces along the Niger, could hardly fail to become a place of the greatest interest.

A great many sweet potatoes, or *dánkali*, were cultivated in the district through which I passed, although

the aspect of the crops was far from being satisfactory. The monkey-bread, or baobab trees, on the other hand, were now in the full exuberance of their foliage. Leaving our former route a little to the north, we took the southerly road to the town of Dógo-n-dáji, which was enlivened by passengers proceeding to visit the market held at that place, which proved to be much more important than that of Gando, cattle, sheep, salt, and beads constituting the chief articles for sale. But, just at the moment we arrived, a thunder-storm broke out, which dispersed all the customers in the market, and left us in a difficult position to supply our wants. The town itself, although the clay wall was in a state of great decay, presented an interesting aspect, being full of gonda, or *Erica Papaya*, and date trees, which were just loaded with fruit, a rather rare sight in Negroland.

Thursday,  
August 24th. When we left the town of Dógo-n-dáji, we crossed the market-place, which is adorned by five monkey-bread trees, but being empty at the time, it looked somewhat desolate.

At the present day, at the outskirts of almost all the larger towns of Negroland, Fúlbe families are established, who rear cattle for the express purpose of supplying milk for the daily wants of the inhabitants; and these people gladly provide travellers with that most desirable article when they are well paid for it; but having degenerated to mere tradesmen, they, of course, possess little hospitable feeling. Leaving, then the town of Sála at about two miles distance to the

north, and passing through a populous district, rich in pastures and the cultivation of rice and sórghum, and exhibiting near the town of Kusáda a good many dúm- and deléb-palms, we ascended at length along a difficult passage, rendered almost impassable by the quantity of rain which had fallen, until we reached Shagári, the place where we had slept on our outward journey, and where a market was just being held. We were fortunate enough, this time, to obtain tolerable quarters, and to be well treated.

The whole country which we traversed on our next day's march, was clothed with the richest vegetation, the crops being almost ripe, but cattle and horses being very scanty. Thus, after a good march, we reached the town of Bodínga, having lost another of our camels on the road, which, in crossing one of the swampy valleys in which this part of Negroland abounds, had fallen backwards with his load, and died on the spot. But the quantity of water that we had to sustain from above and below, was not only destructive to animals, but likewise to men, and I myself felt most cheerless, weak, and without appetite, bearing already within me the germs of dysentery, which soon were to develop themselves, and undermine my health in the most serious way. My companions were not much better off, and of the messengers of the Sheikh El Bakáy, none but Sidi A'hmed was able to keep up with us.

A large and well-frequented market was held before the western gate of the town of Bodínga, ex-

hibiting a great number of horned cattle and asses ; but the more desolate appeared the extensive and at present useless area of the town itself, which was now covered with rank grass, or laid out in kitchen gardens, while only a few straggling cottages were to be seen. Although I again preferred taking up my quarters outside in my old place, I entered the town expressly in order to pay my compliments to the governor, and was here most hospitably treated by my friend, who manifested the greatest delight at my safe return to his province from my dangerous journey westward. But I had great need of the assistance of a powerful friend, as my camels were not able to carry my little luggage any further; and the good-tempered son of my old friend Mòdibo 'Alì, not only assisted me with camels, but also himself mounted the following morning on a stately charger, and escorted me several miles on my road to Sókoto.

I reached the old residence of the A'hel Fódíye in a very exhausted state, having been delayed on the road by falling in, in the midst of a swampy fád dama, with a numerous caravan of asses, which entirely obstructed the winding watery path. But notwithstanding my sickness, I took extreme delight in the varied aspect which the country at present exhibited, in comparison with the almost total nakedness which it had displayed, when I set out from Sókoto sixteen months previously; and I felt extremely grateful when I again

found myself in this town, having accomplished more than I ever thought I should be able to do.

The whole town, suburbs, wall, cottages, and gardens, were now enveloped in one dense mass of vegetation, through which it was difficult to make one's way, and recognise places well known from former visits. Scarcely had I been quartered in a comfortable hut, when my friend 'Abd el Káder Dan-Taffa, sent his compliments to me, and shortly after made his appearance himself, expressing the liveliest satisfaction at seeing me again, and sincere compassion for the reduced state of my health. Not less encouraging was the reception I met with from my old friend Módibo 'Alí. When I made him a small present, regretting that after the long time I had been without supplies I was not able to make him a better one, he was so kind as to express his astonishment that I had anything left at all. He also begged me not to go on at once to Wurnó, but to stay a day in this place, and to write to 'Alíyu, informing him of my safe return, and how much I stood in need of his aid. I made use of this opportunity of at once requesting the emír El Múmenín to forward me with as little delay as possible on my journey, hinting, at the same time, that I should feel very grateful to him, if he would assist me with horses and camels. I intimated also, that as I myself, on account of the reduced state of my health, was anxious to reach home by the most direct road, I had to beg for permission for a countryman of mine, who

had just come to Bórnu, meaning Mr. Vogel, to visit the south-eastern provinces of his kingdom. The following evening, a messenger arrived from the vizier 'Abdú, son of Gedádo, informing me that we were to start on the succeeding day, and that we should find camels on the other side of the river. The river, as I had already learned, was very much swollen, and extremely difficult to cross.

While my Mohammedan and black friends thus behaved towards me in the kindest and most hospitable manner, the way in which I felt myself treated by my friends in Europe, was not at all encouraging, and little adapted to raise my failing spirits; for it was only by accident, through a liberated female slave from Stambúl, who called upon me soon after my arrival, that I obtained information of the important fact, that five Christians had arrived in Kú-kawa, with a train of forty camels. While I endeavoured to identify the individuals of whom this person gave me some account from a very selfish point of view, with the particulars contained in Lord Russell's despatch, which I had received near Timbúktu, about the members of an auxiliary expedition to be sent out to join me, I was greatly astonished that, for myself, there was not a single line from those gentlemen, although I felt still authorized to consider myself the director of the African Expedition; and I could only conclude from all this, that something was wrong. I had not yet any direct intimation of the rumour which was spread abroad with regard to











my death: and taking everything into consideration, it was certainly a want of circumspection in Mr. Vogel, notwithstanding the rumours which were current in Bórnu, not to endeavour to place himself in communication with me in the event of my being still alive.

Having arranged my luggage at an early hour, and waited some time for my people to get ready, I set out. Winding down the slope of the hill on which Sókoto is situated, and which was now covered with crops, we reached the border of the stream, which, from having been an insignificant brook at the time of my first arrival in the place, was now changed into a powerful torrent, about 200 yards broad, and rushing along with the most impetuous violence, undermining the banks, and leaving in its course small patches of grassy islands, which made the passage extremely difficult. The view opposite will give an idea of the scenery. Having at length crossed this stream in frail barks, dragging our horses and beasts of burden alongside of them, we had to wait a good while on the opposite shore till the camels sent from Sókoto came to meet us, when we proceeded about eight miles, and having been caught in a heavy shower, took up our quarters in A'chi-da-láfia, a large straggling farming village. Here I felt extremely weak and exhausted, my case assuming more distinctly the character of dysentery.

After an agreeable march of about six miles, it being a fine clear day, we

Tuesday,  
August 29th.

Wednesday,  
August 30th.

reached Wurnó, the residence of 'Alíyu. Here we were lodged in our old quarters, where, however, the frail building of the hut had disappeared, and nothing remained but the clay house. I was received by the court of the emír El Múmenín also with great kindness, and, curious as it may appear to Europeans, my hostile relation with the Fúlbe of Ilamda-Alláhi seemed only to have increased my esteem in the eyes of these people. 'Alíyu had even heard of the ungenerous conduct of the Sheikh el Bakáy's younger brother towards me; and while he greatly praised the straightforward behaviour of the former he did not fail to reproach Sidi A'lawáte with meanness. He treated me very hospitably, although I was not able to enjoy greatly the more luxurious kind of food which was here offered to me, for luxurious it seemed after my poor diet in the famished and distracted region near the Niger. It was only by the strictest diet, especially by keeping to sour milk, together with repose, that I succeeded, after a great deal of suffering, in keeping under the disease. However, my recovery in the beginning was only temporary, and on the 13th of the following month dysentery broke out with considerable violence, and caused me a total loss of strength; but, after a severe crisis, it was overcome by the use of Dover's powders, although even then a simple diet was the most effectual remedy, my food consisting of nothing but pounded rice, mixed with curdled milk, and the seeds of the *Mimosa Nilotica*. At length, on the 22nd of September, I was again

enabled to move about a little on horseback, and from that day forward, my health continued to improve.

Finding that my *segifa* excluded every draught of air, I built myself a shed of matting in front of the door of the clay house, where I spent my time pleasantly enough, until the great humidity of the ground, in consequence of the rains that began to fall, drove me back into my hall. The whole breadth of the valley to the very foot of the rocky border was now under water to a considerable depth, and covered with water-lilies. Scarcely a small footpath remained. A great deal of rice was to be seen in the low ground, while the cultivation on the higher ground consisted entirely of sorghum. But the richness of the country around was scarcely of any avail, for greater insecurity prevailed than on my former visit, even at the distance of a few miles from the capital. A small host of the enemy had succeeded in carrying into slavery from a distance of less than ten miles from the capital, a considerable number of people and cattle.\* Another predatory expedition of the *Búgaje* from *Alakkos*, a few days later, drove away two herds of cattle from the very village of *Giyáwa*;

\* This expedition was led by the *Dan-ghaladíma-Góber*, and fell upon the border district of *Jyju*, situated in the rocky district between *Giyáwa* and *Wurnó*, and comprising many small hamlets, or *gidaje*, as the *Gída-n-Ríya*, *Gída-n-Alisówa*, *Gída-n-Gorgábe*, *Gída-n-Kóla-Dalládi*, *Gída-n-Maidanga*, *Gída-n-Yakúbu*, *Gída-n-Ruggun-dáji*, *Rúmde-n-ghaladíma*, and *Alkáli-Asbēn*. A brother of his ransacked *Wáno*, separated only by a narrow valley from *Suláme*.

and on the 2nd of October a small foray of Tagáma plundered the village of Saláme together with a neighbouring hamlet, carrying away a good number of people.

A great dearth of provisions prevailed, not only with regard to meat, but even corn, which was the more surprising to us, as we had been accustomed in Timbúktu to very low prices, although provisions are there brought from so great a distance.. We were able in that town to buy a sheep for 500 or 600 kurdí, but we could here find none under 3000, the best fetching as much as 5000; and as for corn, the suníyc, which we bought in Timbúktu for 3000 to 4000, we should have been glad to buy here with 10,000, if such large quantities had been brought into the market at all. It was, besides, extremely difficult for me to find shells. I was thus obliged to sell five dollars for 11,000 shells, while in Timbúktu they would have fetched 15,000. I also sold the corals which I had left at a low price, in order to be enabled to keep up my establishment. Cotton strips, which are liked better in the country places, were still dearer in proportion than shells.

The horse which I rode myself being incapable of any further exertion, and my camels having either died or become totally exhausted, I was thus thrown, much against my inclination, upon the generosity of the prince, and in order to stimulate his good will, besides the present which I offered to him at my first interview, I gave him in a second audience ten

dollars, silver being always an article much esteemed by these people. I had made it a point of reserving the last bernús I possessed for the governor of Kánó, who, in the present state of anarchy into which Bórnu seemed to be plunged, might be a person of great importance to me. But, nevertheless, I could not induce this not very high-spirited and noble-minded prince to make a sacrifice of a handsome horse, and he gave me an animal which, although it did not prove to be a bad travelling horse, was of small size, had a very bad walk, was not able to gallop at all, and altogether, was more like an ass than a horse. Besides a horse, 'Alíyu was kind enough to send me a large loaf of English sugar, — a rather uncommon article in this country. I felt very grateful for this present, as I was entirely destitute of sugar.

I had a good deal of trouble with my companions, who did not like to leave this place so soon as it was my intention to do. This extended not only to the messengers of the Sheikh, all of whom suffered a great deal from illness, but still more to my headman, 'Alí el A'geren, whom I would have sent away long before if I had been able to pay him off; for this man, who found it very convenient to trade at my expense, while he had nothing to do except to receive a good salary, entered into all sorts of intrigues to keep me in this place, just as he had done in Timbúktu.

Notwithstanding the reiterated delays, I succeeded in fixing my departure for the 7th October, and as I



afterwards convinced myself from my own experience, the state of the roads which we had to cross would scarcely have allowed us to commence our journey before that time; but the rainy season was now almost over, and while the noxious insect called *tumán-ragaye*, which towards the end of the rainy season infests the whole ground, increased in numbers, the quantity of rain decreased. Being now rather better and feeling stronger, I began again to move about a little on horseback, although the swampy character of the valley which surrounds Wurnó on almost every side, together with the rocky character of the remaining part of the district, prevented me from making long excursions.

During this my second stay in the capital of this extensive empire, I had again full opportunity of observing the extreme weakness and want of energy which prevails in its very centre; although I could not but acknowledge the feeling of justice which animates the ruler himself, notwithstanding his want of spirit. In proof of this I may relate that being informed one day that five young sons of his had committed acts of injustice in the market, he became greatly enraged, and immediately sent his two chief courtiers, 'Abdu and the ghaladíma, with positive orders to seize and imprison the offenders; and when the young outlaws succeeded in escaping and hiding themselves for a day or two, he had the chief slave, who had been with them, executed. But the cowardice of his people, and their oppression of the weak and

unprotected, became fully apparent. A most disgraceful affair happened at this time. A caravan of inoffensive traders who had encamped in Gá-wasá, were surprised by them, and after considerable havoc had been made among them, were deprived of almost all their property. These people had been reported to be hostile pagans, or A'zena, from the district of Sáje in Góber, and dependent on the protection of the Kél-gerés and the Awelímmiden-wuén-Bodhál, and were represented as having been trading with the inhabitants of Tléta, which was hostile to the Féllani; but after this cruel act of injustice had been committed, it was ascertained that they were peaceable traders on their way to Kanó, and that among them there were even several inhabitants of Wurnó.

But it almost seemed as if the prospects of this part of Negroland were to darken more and more, for the rumours which I had heard on the Niger of the ancient feud between the Kél-owí and Kél-gerés having again broken out in a sanguinary struggle, were entirely confirmed here. The Kél-owí had undertaken this year an expedition on a large scale, consisting of 5000 men mounted on horses and camels, and, according to report, with as many as 1000 muskets, against the Kél-gerés and the Awelímmiden, and had penetrated almost as far as Sáje, which place they destroyed by fire. The Kél-gerés having taken part in the expedition of the Góberáwa against the empire of Sókoto, the relation of the

Kél-owí with the latter had assumed a much more friendly character, and our old friend A'nnur had paid a visit to the town of Kátsena. My friend 'Abd el Káder, the Sultan of A'gades, who, as I have mentioned on my outward journey, had been deposed, and had been succeeded by Hámed e' Rufáy, had now turned merchant on a grand scale, endeavouring at the same time to attach the Fúlbe to his cause. His usual residence was now in Kátsena, but he had paid a visit the previous year, in company with the governor of that place, to the emír El Múmenín, taking him, besides a quantity of bernúses and other valuable articles, a present of thirteen horses of Tawárek breed, and receiving from the latter, besides a number of tobés, 3,000,000 shells, and 260 slaves. Having remained about two months in Wurnó, and having been treated altogether in the most distinguished manner, the ex-king of A'gades had been forwarded with a numerous escort; for, notwithstanding the extreme weakness of this empire, if viewed from a European point of view, it even now is not quite destitute of means. During my stay, the messengers arrived from Záriya, with a bi-monthly tribute of 300,000 shells, 85 slaves and 100 tobés.

Having at length overcome the laziness of my companions, I had the satisfaction of seeing my departure finally arranged for the 5th October. The gháladíma, in whose company on my outward journey I had come from Kátsena, was again to be my fellow traveller on my return eastward. I therefore com-

pleted my preparations, and, on the 4th October, I had my final leave-taking, or, as the Háusa people say, the babankwána, when I took the opportunity of excusing myself to 'Alíyu for having been this year a little troublesome, after the fashion of those Arab sherifs who used to visit him, stating at the same time, that if my means had not been almost exhausted, I should have preferred buying a horse for myself. Having made this prelude, I endeavoured to impress upon him the dangerous state of the road, when he made use of the expression common in Háusa, "Alla shibúdeta!" ("God may open it!"); but I protested against such an excess of reliance upon the Divine intervention, and exhorted him to employ his own strength and power for such a purpose, for without security of roads, I assured him there could be no intercourse nor traffic. He either was, or seemed to be, very desirous that the English should open trading relations with him; and I even touched on the circumstance, that in order to facilitate such an intercourse, it would be best to blow up certain rocks, which most obstructed the navigation between Yáuri and Búsa, but of such an undertaking I convinced myself that it was better not to say too much at once, as that ought to be an affair of time.

Altogether, 'Alíyu had entered into the most cheerful conversation with me on all occasions, and had questioned me upon every subject without reserve. He also furnished me with four letters of recom-

mentation, one to the governor of Kanó, one to that of Bauchi, one to that of A'damáwa, and one in a more general sense, addressed to all the governors of the different provinces in his empire. Thus I took leave of him and his court, probably never to see that region again, and lamenting that this extensive empire, which is so advantageously situated for a steady intercourse with Europeans, was not in the hands of an energetic chieftain, who would be able to give stability to conquest, and to organise the government of these provinces, so richly endowed by nature, with a strong hand.

Thursday,  
October 5th.

It was about three o'clock in the afternoon when I took my final leave of Wurnó. I had twice resided in this capital for some length of time, experiencing, on the whole, much kindness. On my outward journey I had been furnished on my dangerous undertaking with a strong and powerful recommendation; and on my return, although I had come into hostile contact with another section of the same tribe to which the inhabitants of this country belong, I had been again received without the least suspicion, had been treated with great regard, notwithstanding the exhausted state of my finances, and allowed to pursue my home journey as soon as the season reopened the communication with the neighbouring province.

Following now quite a different and more southerly road from that which we had pursued on our outward journey, we encamped this day in Dan-

Sháura\*, a walled town, strengthened by three moats, tolerably well inhabited, and adorned with fine groups of trees, among which some large gonda trees, or *Erica Papaya*, were distinguished. The town belongs to the district of Rába, which forms the title of its governor, who is called Serkí-n-Rába. He was a decent sort of man, and treated us hospitably, a dish of fish proving a great luxury to me in this inland region, and bearing testimony to the considerable size of a large pond which borders the town on the east side, being apparently in connection with the gulbi-n-Rába, or Bugga. The evening was clear, and I enjoyed for a long time the scenery of the place in the fine moonlight, but the governor would not honour me with his company, being greatly afraid of the bad influence of the moon, the effect of which he thought far more injurious than that of the sun.

After a night greatly disturbed first by mosquitoes, and then by a heavy gale, we pursued our journey, entering a fine open country, which was intersected further on by a broad fáddama, and beyond that, presented several ponds half-dried

Friday,  
October 6th.

\* I here give a list of the towns and villages lying along this river on the side of Dan-Sháura:—Dogáwa, Tungámmaza, Tunsumáwa, Tófa, Gída-n-dan-Damáwa, Gída-n-Laudam, Basánsan, Gída-n-Somába, G. Mágaji, Gelgil, G. Atafíru, Jan Tumbagébe, Birni-n-Dangéda, Gajére, Dorówa-n-birni, Dakuráwa, Kundus, Rára. Between the town of Rába, from whence this river has received the name Gulbi-n-Rába, and Sókoto, there are the places: Kurfi, Torónka, Kúwasa, Durbel, Dúnguji, Tunga-dúwatsu, Kabángá (Ungwa Ibrahíma) Garí-n-serkí-n-A'zema.

up. But, after a march of about ten miles, we had a larger valley full of water on our right; and three miles further on, had to cross it at a spot where the sheet of water was at present narrowed to about 100 yards in width and 3 feet in depth, and notwithstanding a considerable current afforded an easier passage than the other part of the rainy season bed, which at present exhibited swampy ground, partly overgrown with rank grass, but was very difficult to cross, and a few days previously had been totally impracticable for horses or camels.

Four miles and a half beyond this river, through a country adorned with fine trees, but without any traces of cultivation, we reached a large river about 250 yards broad, and more than 5 feet deep, running here in a north-easterly direction, and no doubt identical with the river which we had lately crossed. How it is that the river here contains so much more water than it does lower down, I cannot state with certainty; but my opinion is, that a great portion of it is withdrawn towards the north, where the forest seems gradually to slope down towards the desert region of the centre of Gúndumi, where, in a sort of mould, or hollow, a large lake-like pond is formed. It is rather unfortunate that I had not an opportunity of asking information on this subject from one of the followers of the ghaladíma, who, instead of crossing the first sheet of water, kept along its northern bank; and thus with a longer circuit, but without the necessity of embarking in a boat,

reached the town of Gandi. Having then crossed another small fáddama in a wide open country, where sorghum and cotton were cultivated together in the same fields, we reached the town of Gandi. It is surrounded by a wall (in a state of decay), and by two moats, and is of considerable size, but half-deserted.

We traversed with some difficulty the entrance of the town, which was adorned on the outside with three very tall bombax, or silk-cotton trees, and was almost entirely obstructed by a wooden gate, and then made our way through the desolate area of the town, overgrown with tall herbage, dúm-palms, and kórna, until we reached the house of the mágaji, who is one of the five rulers of this vast and desolate place. But we had a great deal of trouble in procuring quarters in an empty courtyard, where we were glad to obtain some rest, as, owing to my long illness, and my entire want of any strengthening food, I felt extremely exhausted by our day's march. I had, moreover, the dissatisfaction to find that one of my people, a liberated slave from Núpe, had remained behind and could not be found. As for myself, I was not able to stir much about to inquire after him, for I wanted rest the more, as we had a long day's march before us\*, and had to rise at a very early hour.

\* Close to Gandi is the small hill Dan-Fáwa, where the ancient town was situated; and, at a distance of about ten miles, is the well-known town of Bakúra, after which the river is called Gulbi-n-Bakúra.



It was three o'clock the following morning when we all assembled round the courtyard of the ghaladima, but on account of the guide who had promised to conduct us through the wilderness not daring to trust himself with these people without receiving his reward beforehand, we did not get off till half-past five o'clock, after we were quite tired out and ill prepared for a long march. The forest was overgrown with rank grass, and in the beginning exhibited some large ponds. The dorówa formed the principal tree, only now and then a dúm-palm giving some variety to the vegetation. Through this dense forest we marched at such a rate, that it rather resembled a flight than anything else, rendering it impossible for me to lay down this road with the same degree of accuracy to which I had adhered with the greatest perseverance throughout the whole extent of my long wanderings. At length, after a march of more than twenty miles, we reached the beginning of the large pond Subúbu, which, however, at present was almost dried up, presenting nothing but small pools of water; but I was sadly disappointed in my hopes of obtaining here some rest, the locality being regarded as too insecure to make a long halt, although on account of this sheet of water we had evidently given to our course a direction greatly diverging from that of our main route, which was to the north-east. I felt so much exhausted, that I was obliged shortly after to remain secretly behind, protected only by my faithful ser-

vant El Gatróni, when I lay down flat on the ground for a few moments, and then, refreshed a little, hastily followed the troop. Thus we proceeded onward, and the day passed by without there appearing any vestige of a town. After many disappointments, dragging myself along in the most desperate state of exhaustion, about an hour after midnight we at length reached cultivated fields and encamped at some distance from the town of Danfáwa or Dan-Fáwa, on an open piece of ground. Not being able to wait till the tent was pitched, I fell fast asleep as soon as I dismounted. A very heavy dew fell during the night.

Having obtained some water and a couple of fowls from some farming people in our neighbourhood, we succeeded in finding our camels (which on account of the exhausted condition of my people had wandered away), and set out a little after noon, passing close by the town, where a tolerable market was held, and where I provided myself with corn for the next few days. The town of Dan-Fáwa is tolerably populous, and there are even a good many huts outside the walls; but I was astonished at observing the filthy condition of the pond from which the inhabitants procure their supply of water. It could not fail to confirm my former conjecture, that most of the diseases of the inhabitants, especially the guinea-worm, are due to this dirt and filth, which they swallow at certain seasons of the year in this sort of water.

Having lost some time in the market, I overtook my

Sunday,  
October 8th.

people as they were winding along the steep bank of a considerable river, which, taking a northerly course, and evidently identical with the watercourse\* at Katúru, joins the great valley of Góber, a few miles to the north-west of Sansánne 'Aísa. At the place where we crossed, it was about 200 yards broad, but very shallow at the time, being only a foot deep and full of sandbanks; but I was not a little astonished to find that it contained a very great quantity of fish, numbers of people being employed in catching them by the beating of drums. Although the bank was so steep, there were evident signs that a short time before, it had been covered by the water, and part of the crops, even beyond its border, had been damaged by the inundation.

The country appeared to be well inhabited. A little further on we passed on our left a populous walled town called Dóle, and an apparently larger place became visible on the other side, the pasture-grounds being covered with extremely fine cattle. After we had crossed the river, I found that the highest stalks of Indian corn, which was fast ripening, measured not less than twenty-eight feet. Besides sorghum, sweet potatoes, or dánkali, were also cultivated here to a great extent. Having then crossed a stony tract, we again reached the town of Moríki, where the river approaches to within a few hundred yards.\* On the high ground close to the

\* The watercourse is here still of considerable size, and comes a good many miles from the south-east, from a place called Gó-zaki, skirting the towns of Kaúri-n-Namóda, and Góga.

border of the town, a market-place spreads out. Having observed the narrowness of the lanes, I preferred encamping a considerable distance beyond the town near a hamlet, surrounded by a thick fence, and inhabited by Fúlbe, of the tribes of the Jaka-báwa and Kukodáwa. The neighbourhood of Mori'ki was said to be infested by the inhabitants of the town of Tléta, who were reported to make nightly forays, carrying away horses and cattle; but notwithstanding this information, we had an undisturbed night's rest, although I thought it prudent to fire several shots.

Having dried our tent a little from the extremely heavy dew which had fallen during the night, we set out to join our companions. Traversing the same rocky district through which we had passed on our outward journey, we reached again the well-known place of Dúchi, and entering with difficulty the obstructed lanes of the village where we lost another of our camels, pitched our tent on a small open square opposite the house where the ghaladíma had taken up his quarters. Some tamarind trees on the slope of a rocky eminence, which rose close behind our resting place, afforded us a tolerable shelter during the hot hours of the day.

Our day's march carried us as far as Búnka, with the loss of another of our camels, and we encamped this time inside the town in a tolerably spacious courtyard, the surrounding fields being now covered with tall crops, and not

Monday,  
October 9th.

Tuesday,  
October 10th.

affording sufficient ground for encamping. Altogether the country presented a very different aspect from what it had done on our outward journey, and the watercourse near Zýrmi with its steep banks, offered a difficult passage, although the water was not more than a foot and a half deep. My camels being either knocked up or having entirely succumbed, I endeavoured in vain to procure a good ox of burden, the principal reason of my difficulty being, that I was not provided with shells, and, in consequence, I had some trouble the next day in reaching the town of Kámmané, where the ghaladíma took up his quarters. Already on the road, I had observed a good deal of indigo and cotton cultivated between the sorghum. Even here close to the town, we found the grounds divided between the cultivation of rice and indigo; and I soon learnt that the whole industry of the inhabitants consisted in weaving and dyeing. They have very little millet of any kind, so that their food is chiefly limited to ground-nuts or kolche. They have no cattle, but their cotton is celebrated on account of its strength, and the shirts which they dye here, are distinguished for the peculiar lustre which they know how to give to them. Although the inhabitants have only about twenty horses, they are able, according to their own statement, to bring into the field not less than 5000 archers. However exaggerated this statement may be, they had not found it very difficult, the preceding year, to drive back the expedition of the

Góberáwa; for they keep their wall in excellent repair, and even at present only one gate was passable at all for laden animals, the others being only accessible by a *kadárku* or narrow drawbridge. The whole interior of the town presented an interesting aspect, tall *dúm*-palms shooting up between the several granite mounds which rise to a considerable elevation \*, while the courtyards exhibited a great deal of industry, the people being busy with their labours till late in the evening. The proprietor of the courtyard where I had taken up my quarters treated me with the favourite drink of *furá* soon after my arrival, and with *túwo* in the evening. I was also fortunate enough to obtain some milk from the villagers outside.

It was rather late when we left this place for another long forced march, a dense fog enveloping the country; but it was still much too early for my noble friend the *ghaladíma*, who was busy installing a new governor, for which he received a present of a horse and large heaps of shells, so that it was almost ten o'clock before we had fairly entered upon our march. This district being very dangerous, we proceeded on with great haste, and I really conjectured that it was in truth the unsafe state of the

Thursday,  
October 12th.

\* *Kámmané* is one of those places which are distinguished on account of their granite mounds, and which extend from *A'yo* and *Mágaré* to *Chábané*, *A'jjia*, and the fifteen rocky mounds of *Kotórkoshé*, where the Sultan of *Sókoto* had the preceding year directed his expedition.

road which had caused the delay of our departure, the people being anxious to disappoint the enemy, who, if they had heard the news of our arrival in this place, would of course expect that we should set out in the morning. Having made our way for about six hours through a dense forest, we left a granite mound and the ivy-mantled wall of Rúbo on one side, with a fine rimi and abundance of fresh grass of tall growth. The forest then became clearer, and we reached a considerable tebki, or pond, which being regarded as the end of the dangerous tract, my companions came to congratulate me upon having now at length escaped the dangers of the road. However, our day's march was still tolerably long, extending altogether to twelve hours; and being rather unwell that day, I had considerable difficulty in keeping up with the troop. In consequence of our late departure, we had to traverse the most difficult part of our route, that nearest to U'mmadaw, which is intersected by granite blocks, in the dark, so that our march was frequently obstructed, especially at a spot where two mighty granitic masses left only a narrow passage. A good deal of indigo is here cultivated between the millet; and the town itself is very spacious; but arriving at so late an hour, we had great difficulty in obtaining quarters, all the open grounds being covered with corn, and we were glad to find at length an open square where we might pitch our tent.

Friday,  
October 13th.

Here my route separated from that of the ghaladíma, as I was going to Kanó, while

he, again, along this roundabout way (the direct route having been almost entirely broken up by the enemy), directed his steps towards Kátsena. After satisfying our appetites, for which we had not been able to provide the preceding night, I took a small present with me, and went to bid farewell to the ghaladíma and those of his suite who had been particularly kind to me; and I hope that they will long remember me. Having fulfilled this duty, I proceeded with my people, in order to continue my march alone. The country was tolerably open, broken only here and there by granite rocks, while the vegetation was enlivened now and then by dúm-palms. Cultivation was limited to certain tracts; but, notwithstanding the unsafe state of the country, the pasture-grounds were not quite destitute of cattle; and being at length able to travel according to my own inclinations, I enjoyed the scenery extremely. It had been my original intention to pursue the road to Korófi; but, by mistake, after leaving Wurmó, I had got into the track leading to Birchi. I reached this latter town after a march of altogether about twelve miles, having crossed my former route from Kúrayé to Kúrrefi. I found that almost all the male inhabitants of the place had joined the expedition against Káura; and I pitched my tent in front of the house of the ghaladíma, but was invited by the people who were left as guardians to pass the hot hours of the day in the cool entrance-hall of his courtyard. Although the place does not exhibit any great signs of wealth or comfort, I was glad to find



that the corn here was much cheaper than in U'missadaw. I was also enabled to buy some butter. Moreover, the absence of the governor exercised no unfavourable influence upon my treatment, which was very kind: an old mállem especially evinced a friendly disposition towards me.

Saturday,  
October 14th.

After a march of about fourteen miles, passing by the town of Rawëó, where a small market was held, and traversing the suburb of Sakássar, with its beautiful "ngáboré," or fig-trees, we reached the town of Máje, which had been represented to us as rich in cattle and milk, but which I found half deserted; the town having greatly declined about twelve years previously, when the whole country, including the places Takabáwa, Matázu, Korófi, and Kúrkojángo, revolted, and gave free passage to an army of the Góberáwa. I was glad to buy a good sheep for 1500 shells. The governor of the place was absent in Kátsena, where he generally resides. We had pitched our tent in the shade of a beautiful fig-tree, and passed the afternoon very pleasantly; but were greatly troubled during the night by the numbers of mosquitoes.

Rising at an early hour, and traversing a fine country, I reached the large town of Kusáda in the afternoon, and encamped here, outside, not far from the market-place, which at the time of my arrival was quite untenanted; but the following night it became well frequented by a number of travellers who sought quarters there. On this march I observed a

specimen of industry on a small scale, exercised by the inhabitants of the town of Máje, who buy sour milk in a place called Kánkia, at a considerable distance, and supply the town of Korófi with it. Numerous villages were lying on either side of our path, cultivated and uncultivated ground succeeding alternately; Indian millet being here the chief product besides cotton. The pasture-grounds also were enlivened by a good number of horses.

Pursuing from this point my old road through the fine province of Kanó, rich in all kinds of produce, and well stocked with cattle, and encamping the next night close beyond the town of Bichi, I reached the town of Kanó in the afternoon of the 17th, having sent one of my people in advance.

## CHAP. LXXXIII.

## SECOND RESIDENCE IN KANÓ, UNDER UNFAVOURABLE CIRCUMSTANCES.—MARCH TO KÚKAWA.

ON my arrival in Kanó, I found everything prepared, and took up my quarters in a house provided for me; but I was greatly disappointed in finding neither letters nor supplies; being entirely destitute of means, and having several debts to pay in this place,—amongst others, the money due to my servants, to whom I had paid nothing during the whole journey from Kúkawa to Timbúktu, and back. I was scarcely able to explain how all this could have happened; having fully relied upon finding here everything I wanted, together with satisfactory information with regard to the proceedings of Mr. Vogel and his companions, whose arrival in Kúkawa I had as yet only accidentally learned from a liberated slave in Sókoto. But fortunately, without relying much upon Sídi Ráshid, the man whom I knew to be at the time the agent of Her Majesty's Vice Consul in Múrzuk, I had given my confidence at once to Sídi 'Alí, the merchant whom I have mentioned already in the account of my former stay in this place, as a tolerably trustworthy person, and whose good-will

I endeavoured at once to secure, by sacrificing to him almost everything I had left of value, including a small six-barrelled pistol. In return, he promised to supply my wants till I should be put in possession of the money and merchandise which I had deposited in Zínder.

The first thing, therefore, which I had to do the next morning, after having paid my compliments to the ghaladíma and the governor, and made to each of them a handsome present, such as my means would allow, was to send my servant Mohammed el Gatróni, upon whom I could fully rely, to Zínder; giving him full instructions, and promising him a handsome present, if he should succeed in bringing away all my effects, both those which had been deposited on a former occasion, and the merchandise which had been forwarded on my account at a later period; and a smaller one in case he should only find the latter portion: for, after all, I was by no means sure that the box of ironware and the four hundred dollars had remained safe during the severe civil struggles which had agitated Bórnu during my absence. Meanwhile, till the return of this messenger, I endeavoured to pass my time as usefully as possible, by completing a survey of the town which I had begun during my former residence, but was far from having finished. At the same time the state of my health, on account of the close quarters in which I was here lodged, after having roved about in the open air for so long a time, required uninterrupted exercise.

Owing to the change in my mode of living, severe fits of fever attacked me repeatedly.

Kanó will always remain one of the most unfavourable localities for Europeans in this region; and it was well that Mr. Vogel, for the first year after his arrival in Negroland, purposely avoided this spot. Even my animals did not escape the malignant effect of the climate. Three of my horses were seized, one after the other, with a contagious disease, commencing with a swelling of the thighs, and from thence spreading to the breast and the head, and generally proving fatal in six or eight days. In this way I lost two out of my three horses, including my old companion, who had carried me through so many dangerous campaigns, and who had shared all my fatigues and sufferings for nearly three years; but the small and ugly, but strong horse which the Sultan of Sókoto had made me a present of, escaped with its life. This disease which attacked my horses, of course, interfered greatly with my excursions, and took away almost all the pleasure which they would otherwise have afforded, as I was reduced to the necessity of making use of very indifferent animals. Nevertheless, I enjoyed greatly the open country which extended outside the gates of this picturesque but extremely dirty town, dotted with large villages at no great distance; and I followed up especially, with great interest, the easterly of the three roads which diverge from the Kófa-n-kúra, and which leads to the small rivulet known as the Kógi-n-Kanó. Occasionally also

I went to visit some cattle-pens, in order to get a little fresh milk, which I was unable to procure in the town; ~~for~~ inside the place I succeeded only after great exertion in obtaining a little goat's milk. The pools produced by the rainy season had now dried up almost everywhere, and that peculiar kind of sorghum called "maiwa" had been harvested; and a few days afterwards, while making another excursion, to the south, I met the servants of the governor gathering the corn for their master.

Besides my own private concerns, and the anxiety produced by the urgency of my debts and the uncertainty with regard to the property left by me in Zinder, there were two objects which attracted my whole attention and caused me a good deal of perplexity and hesitation. The first of these was the expedition sent by the English government up the river Bénouwé, of which I had not the slightest idea at the time when it was carried out, for the despatches which I had received in Timbúktu, after so much delay, did not contain a word about such a proceeding; and the letters which were forwarded afterwards to my address, informing me that such an expedition was to be undertaken, remained in Kúkawa, and I did not get them until my arrival in that place at the end of December. Thus it was not until the 29th October that, just in the same manner as I had heard accidentally in Sókoto of the arrival of Mr. Vogel in Kúkawa, I was informed here, by the report of the natives, of such an expedition having taken place. I

at first thought that it was undertaken by Captain M'Leod, of whose proposal to ascend the Niger I had accidentally gleaned some information through a number of the Galignani, and it was not until the 13th November that I succeeded in meeting the person who had seen the expedition with his own eyes. This man informed me that the expedition consisted of one large boat, he did not know whether of iron or of wood, and two smaller ones, containing altogether seven gentlemen and seventy slaves, he of course taking the Kroomen for slaves. Moreover, I learned from him that the members of this expedition had not gone as far as Yóla, the capital of A'damáwa, as the governor of Hamárruwa had warned them not to go up to that place with their steamer, on account of the narrow passage between the mountains. He also informed me, that they had commenced their home journey earlier than had been expected, and that he himself, having proceeded to Yákoba in order to procure more ivory for them, had found them gone on his return.

The other circumstance which greatly occupied my mind at this time, was the state of affairs in Kúkawa. For in the beginning, on the first news of the revolution in Bórnu, and of the Sheikh 'Omár being dethroned and his vizier slain, I had given up my project of returning by Bórnu, intending to try again the difficult road by A'ír. At a later season, however, when I heard on the road that 'Omár was again installed, I cherished the hope that it might be possible to take

the safer route by the Tebu country, especially as I received the news of a most sanguinary struggle having taken place between the Kél-owí and the Kél-gerés. In this struggle a great many of the noblest men of the former were said to have fallen, together with several hundred of the common people on both sides. I was sorry to hear that in this struggle my best friends had succumbed.

Meanwhile the news from Kúkawa remained very unsatisfactory, and false rumours were continually brought from thence. Thus it was reported on the 1st November that the Sugúrti had vanquished 'Omár, who had made his escape accompanied only by a couple of horsemen; and it was not until the 9th that we received trustworthy news that he was holding his position steadily against the intrigues of the party of his brother, whom he kept in prison. It was with great satisfaction, that I saw messengers from 'Omár arrive, in the course of a few days, in order to present his compliments to the governor of this place. I at once had them called to my house, and made them a few presents, in order to express my satisfaction at their master having recovered his kingdom, and still holding his position; for it was a most important point with me to see my road to Bórnu clear, and to meet there with Mr. Vogel and his party, in order to give him my advice and assistance with respect to the countries which it was most desirable that he should explore. But in the situation in which I was thus placed, it



proved most difficult to obtain the means of reaching Kúkawa, as I had no money at my disposal. For, to my great disappointment, the servant whom I had sent to Zínder on the 18th, in order to bring from thence the property which I had deposited there, as well as the merchandise which had arrived afterwards, returned on the 4th November empty-handed, bringing nothing but a few letters. It was now that I heard that the news of my death had been everywhere believed, and that a servant of Mr. Vogel's, together with a slave of 'Abd e' Rahmán's, had arrived in Zínder from Kúkawa, and had taken away all the merchandise that had reached that place on my account, the box with the 400 dollars and the cutlery having been stolen long before, immediately after the assassination of the sheriff.

Thus, then, I was left destitute also from this side, and I felt the want of supplies the more, as my headman, 'Alí el A'geren, supported by the wording of the contract which I had entered into with him, had claimed here peremptorily the payment of the rest of his salary, which amounted to 111 dollars, and I had been obliged to request Sidi 'Alí to pay him this sum on my account. This man had cost me very dear, and if I had possessed sufficient means I should have discharged him in Timbúktu, as he there threw off all allegiance and obedience to me as soon as he became aware of the dangers which surrounded me. He was likewise of very little service to me on my return journey; but of course he was now anxious to excuse

himself for his conduct on the road, and even laid claim to the present which I had promised him in the event of his conduct proving quite to my satisfaction. This, however, I refused with good reason; and I was glad to find that my other servants, whose salaries amounted altogether to nearly 200 dollars, were willing to wait for their payment until we reached Kúkawa.

However, the parcel which my servant brought me from Zínder was not quite devoid of subjects of gratification, as, besides a few letters from Europe, including a map of South Africa by Mr. Cooley, it contained two beautifully written Arabic letters, one addressed to 'Alíyu, the emír of Sókoto, and the other, a general letter of recommendation addressed by Her Majesty's consul in Tripoli to the chiefs of the Fúlbe. These letters I had expressly written for, and if I had received them two years earlier, they would have been of great service to me. As it was, I sent the letter destined for 'Alíyu to the governor, who was so much pleased with it that he forwarded it by a special messenger, accompanied by a letter from myself, wherein I expressed my regret that I had not been able to present this letter to him on my personal visit, while at the same time I excused myself for not being able at the time to send him a small present, not having found here any supplies, and being entirely destitute of means. Having heard a report, which afterwards proved to be false, that the governor of Hamárruwa had formed the in-

tention of attacking the people in the English steamer with a large force, I took the opportunity of protesting, in this letter, against such proceedings, giving the chief a plain statement of the peaceable intentions of the expedition.

The parcel which my servant had brought me from Zínder seemed also to hold out the prospect of material aid; for the letter from Mr. Dickson, dated the latter part of 1853, wherein he at the same time informed me, to my great disappointment, that he was about to leave his post for the Crimea, contained two letters of recommendation to a couple of Ghadámsi merchants, of the names of Háj A'hmed ben Slímán and Moham-med ben Músa, who, as he informed me, had property of his own in their hands, in order to assist me in case I should be in want of money. But when I sent these letters to their destination they were very coldly received, and it was intimated to me that I could not be accommodated. The disappointment which the awkwardness of my pecuniary circumstances caused me, was soothed in some degree by the offer which the Fezzáni merchant Khweldi, whose kindness to me I have mentioned on a previous occasion, made me at the same time, of lending me 200 dollars in cash. In the afternoon of the 14th, a servant of his arrived with the money, which, however, did not suffice for my actual wants, as I had to return to Sídí 'Alí the 111 dollars which he had paid to my servant 'Alí el 'Ageren. After having made a suitable present to the messenger, I had therefore only a very

small sum remaining; and the disappointment which I had experienced with regard to my luggage, made me reluctant to forego the project which I had formed of taking home with me specimens of the manufactures of this place. I had also to buy two horses and a couple of camels, together with sundry other articles, and I was therefore obliged to procure further means, however difficult it might be. I had even a great deal of trouble with Sidi 'Alí, who put off his promise to accommodate me from day to day.

At length, having, on the 10th of November, written an energetic letter to this merchant, it was agreed that the affair between myself and the Ghadámsi merchants, who refused to lend me money, although they had English property in their hands, should be referred to the ghaladíma, who granted me a public interview for the purpose. In this audience, in which a great number of other people were present, the merchants founded their refusal to comply with my request on the old date of the letter in which they were ordered to attend to my wishes; and it was not until the ghaladíma had ordered them to bring into his presence all that they possessed of the British agent's property that they agreed the following day to lend me a sum of money, at the usual rate of one hundred per cent. Being obliged to agree to this condition, as it had never been my intention to oblige them by force to grant me a loan without allowing them their usual profit, I stipulated to receive from them 500,000 shells, equal in this

place to 200 dollars, on the condition that 400 should be repaid in Tripoli, at four months' date. This loan, which would not have been necessary at all if I had found my supplies, enabled me, on the other hand, to send off my despatches with the greatest ease and security, as it was, of course, the interest of these merchants to have these letters forwarded to Tripoli by the safest and shortest route. A courier was therefore despatched immediately, who being an experienced and well-known person, would be able to make his way through the country of A'ír, which in its temporarily disturbed state was closed to any one else. The only thing which caused me some displeasure in this transaction, was the circumstance that these merchants from Ghadámes had the insolence, although half of the money with which they trade is Christian money, to call the Christians, in the presence of the ghala-díma, by the offensive name of "Káfaráwa," ("the infidels,") and I made a serious protest against such a term being employed in official transactions.

The difficulty which I had in supplying my wants, and purchasing the articles that in my opinion were necessary for my outfit, was the greater, as everything was very dear at the time, the merchants being of opinion, on account of the turbulent state of the road, that no caravan from the north would arrive that year. Camels especially were exceedingly dear, seven fine animals which Khweldi had sent from Zínder, being sold for 60,000 shells each, a very high price for a camel. I deemed myself

therefore very fortunate in being able to purchase a she-camel of inferior quality for 45,000. I also was so lucky as to buy an excellent mare for 70,000 shells, or less than thirty dollars. Having thus at length provided for all my wants, I got everything ready for starting on the 21st; and heartily glad I was when I was fairly embarked on this the last stage of my journeying in Negroland, with the prospect before me, that, in six months or so, I might again breathe the invigorating air of the north.

I therefore cheerfully took leave of my friends from the far-west, who were to follow as soon as possible to Kúkawa, for although they were not likely to be of any further assistance to me, they wanted to lay the chief of that country under some contribution for their own benefit and that of their master. I then pursued my journey with great cheerfulness; and although the general character of the country was not new to me, yet the route which I was obliged to take, had not been travelled by me before. The road, although perhaps less populous, seemed to possess the advantage of richer vegetation, and deléb-palms especially formed the ornament of many a hamlet, or of the open scenery. Fine cattle also were to be seen in considerable numbers, and altogether it was a pleasant ride. Thus, after a march of about eleven miles, we reached the town of Wáse, or Wása, and here took up our quarters. But, as usual, we found the gate so narrow, that we were obliged to take most of the luggage off the camels, and this

was the reason that we always preferred encamping outside; although here it was deemed too unsafe. Even inside the place, the people were very much afraid of thieves. The town was tolerably populous, and the courtyards were fenced with hedges of living trees, almost in the same way as U'ba, and the one where we lodged was well shaded. Although, in the present disturbed state of the country, and with the prospect of another expedition of Bokhári, the inhabitants did not feel much at their ease, we were nevertheless tolerably well treated.

November 24th. We had the same difficulty in getting out of the town, as we had in entering it, so that I was quite sick of these places, and resolved if possible never to enter one again. The sorghum, or Indian corn, had just been cut, but was lying on the ground unthrashed, or rather unbeaten. The dorówa-tree, or *Bassia Parkii*, which seemed to be the prevailing tree in this district, appeared in great numbers a little further on, and even date-trees were seen, close to a hamlet. Having then passed through a more open country, the scenery became exceedingly fine, and continued so as far as the town of Sabó-n-garí, which we passed at some distance on our left. The market-place, enlivened by two beautiful baúre-trees, remained close at the side of our track. It was here that the governor of Kanó intended to collect his troops in order to oppose Bokhári; but it was not very likely, taking into account his own want of energy, and the cowardly disposition

of his host, that he would offer serious resistance to that energetic and enterprising chief, with his warlike bands, elated by victory and pillage.

Twelve miles beyond Sabó-n-garí, through a less favoured district, we reached the town of Yerímari, surrounded with a keffi, while on its outer side a market was just being held. But there being here no food for the camels, we proceeded on, through a district covered with underwood, until we reached, about two miles beyond, a village called "Gí-da-n-Alla," ("the house of God,") which, besides being surrounded with a keffi, was so completely hidden behind a dense covert of trees, which form a natural defence, that we could scarcely discover it. But inside this covert there was a fine open field, whereon we pitched our tent, and were soon visited by the mayor and the chief inhabitants, who behaved in a very friendly manner towards us, and provided us with everything we wanted, the place being rich in small millet and Indian corn. The village was however very badly supplied with water, the well being at a great distance. The camping-ground was extremely pleasant, the open green being varied by dense groups of trees, and the vegetation being moreover enlivened by a good many delébpalms.

The road which we pursued the following day was more beset by thorny bushes, but here also delébpalms were numerous, and dorówa and tamarind trees contributed to enliven more favoured spots. Thus we reached the place where this northern route



is joined by a more southerly one which passes by Gezawa, but not the same track which I had pursued on my former journey. Here we continued on, at an accelerated pace, as all the people whom we met were flying in haste before Bokhári. Thus we passed Dúkawa, a considerable village, fortified with a keffi, and surrounded with numbers of monkey-bread trees, which at present were destitute of foliage, although the fruit was just ripening. As the heat became rather oppressive, especially as we were not provided with water, all the ponds being now dried up, I rode in advance to Hóbiri, fortified, like most of the hamlets hereabouts, with a stockade, and adorned outside by large tamarind and monkey-bread trees, and, while watering the horses, refreshed myself with a little sour-milk. Passing then through a dense forest, I reached the well in front of the town of Gérki. My people had already arrived, but had not yet succeeded in obtaining the smallest quantity of water, the well, although not very deep, being rather poor, considering the number of people which it had to supply. I had, in consequence, to pay 300 shells for supplying the wants of myself and my animals. Not feeling any greater inclination this time to encamp inside Gérki than I had done on my former journey, I chose my own camping-ground on the north side of the town. It was a pleasant spot ; but, unfortunately, it was too near a large monkey-bread tree, which in the course of the night afforded to an audacious thief an excellent cover, under which to proceed twice to a very clever per-

formance of his art. I would strongly advise any future traveller in these districts, the inhabitants of which are very expert thieves, to take care not to pitch his tent too near a large tree. As it was, to my great disgust, the fellow succeeded in carrying away, first the robe, and then the trowsers, belonging to one of my servants; but I strongly suspected one of the inhabitants of Hóbirí, from whom I had bought, the previous evening, an ox of burden for 9000 shells, to be the culprit. Géрки is famous on account of the many thefts which are committed in its neighbourhood.

Although I had not paid my respects to the governor of the town, he accompanied me the next morning with ten horsemen, four of whom were his own sons. He himself was quite a stately person and well mounted. Having then taken leave of him at the frontier of the territory of Kanó and Bórnu, I reached the town of Birmenáwa, the small frontier town of Bórnu, which I have mentioned on my former journey, but which, at present, had assumed more remarkable political importance, as it had not made its subjection to Shéri, the present ruler of Gúmmel, but still adhered to his opponent and rival, the governor of Týmbi. On this account, the inhabitants of this town endeavoured to cut off the peaceable intercourse between Gúmmel and Kanó, and I thought it necessary, in order to prevent any unpleasantness, to pay my respects to the petty chief, and to procure his good will by a

small present, while my camels pursued the direct track. Thus we reached Gúmmel, and encamped outside at some distance from the wall to the north-east.

I had left this town on my former journey in the enjoyment of a considerable degree of wealth and comfort, under the rule of the old Dan Tanóma. But civil war, which cuts short the finest germs of human prosperity, had been raging here; the person appointed by Bórnu as the successor of the former governor having been vanquished by his rival Shéri, who, having taken possession of the town after much serious fighting, had again been driven out by the governor of Zinder sent against him by the Sheikh of Bórnu. Having taken refuge in the territory of Kanó, and collected there fresh strength, the rebellious governor had reconquered his seat, where he was now tacitly acknowledged by his liege lord, in the weak state to which the kingdom of Bórnu had been reduced by the civil war. The town was almost desolate, while the palace had been ransacked, pillaged, and destroyed by fire, and the new governor himself, who, after a long struggle with his rival and near kinsman, had at length succeeded in taking possession of this government, was residing amidst the towering ruins of the royal residence, blackened by fire, and exhibiting altogether the saddest spectacle. It was with a melancholy feeling, that I remembered the beautiful tamarind-tree, which spread its shade over the whole courtyard of the palace, where, on my former visit,

I had witnessed the pompous ceremonies of this petty court. All now presented an appearance of poverty and misery. The governor himself, a man of about thirty-five years of age, and with features void of expression, was dressed in a very shabby manner, wearing nothing but a black robe, and having his head uncovered. There was, however, another man sitting by his side, whose exterior was more imposing; but I soon recognised him as my old friend Mohammed e' Sfúksi, who had accompanied us on our outset from Múrzuk, and who, from being an agent of Mr. Gagliuffi, had become, through successful trading and speculation, a wealthy merchant himself. He was now speculating upon the successful issue of an expedition of his protector against the town of Birmenáwa, the inhabitants of which braved the authority of the governor. But fortunately the debt which Mr. Richardson had contracted with him had at length been paid, and he expressed nothing but kindly feelings towards me, and congratulated me, as it appeared sincerely, upon my safe return from my dangerous undertaking, praising my courage and perseverance in the highest terms before his friend the governor. Presenting to the latter a small gift, consisting of a red cap and turban, together with a flask of rose-oil, I requested him to furnish me with a guide, in order to accompany me to the governor of Máshena. He consented to do so, although, perhaps, he never intended to perform his promise; and I myself at the time had

no idea of the difficulties with which such a proceeding would be accompanied, as the road to Malám, where the governor at Máshena at present resided, led close to the territory of Týmbi, the residence of Shéri's rival.

Having returned to my tent outside the town, I was visited by several of my former acquaintances, and among others by Mohammed Abëakúta, the remarkable freed slave from Yóruba, whom I have mentioned on a former occasion. But the most interesting visit was that of E' Sfáksi in the evening, who brought me a quantity of sweetmeats from his well supplied household, and spent several hours with me, giving me the first authentic account of the state of affairs in Bórnu, as well as of the English expedition which had arrived there. As a reward for his friendly feeling and for his information, I presented him with a young heifer, which the governor of the town had sent me as a present.

My camels having proved insufficient for the journey before them, I was looking out for fresh ones, but in the present reduced state of the place was not able to procure any, a circumstance which caused me afterwards a great deal of delay on my journey.

Monday,  
Nov. 27th.

After losing much time awaiting the coming of the guide who had been promised me, I started after my people whom I had allowed to go on with the camels. The road in consequence of the civil war which had raged between Shéri

and his rival, had become quite desolate. The inhabitants had deserted their native villages, leaving the crops standing ripe in the fields, and forsaking everything which had been dear to them. Not a single human being was to be seen for a stretch of more than twenty-five miles, when at length we fell in with a party of native travellers, or fatáki, who were going to Kanó. We soon after reached the small town of Fányakangwa, surrounded by a wall and stockade, and encamped on the stubble-fields which were covered with small dúm-bush, not far from a deep well, and we were glad to find that we had at length reached a land of tolerable plenty, the corn being just half the price it was in Gúmmel. There were also a great number of cattle, and I had a plentiful supply of milk; but water was at the present season very scanty, and I could scarcely imagine what the people would do in the dry season.

A march of a little more than two miles brought us to Malám, consisting of two villages, the eastern one being encompassed by a clay wall which was being repaired, while the western one, where the present governor resided, was just being surrounded with a stockade. Between the two villages lies the market-place where a market is held every Sunday and Thursday. The present governor of Máshena, whose father I had visited on my former journey, is a young and inexperienced man, who may have some difficulty in protecting his province in the turbulent state into which the empire of Bórnu has been

plunged, in consequence of the civil war raging between the Sheikh 'Omár and his brother 'Abd el Rahmán.

While staying here during the hot hours, I was visited by several Arab traders, one of whom informed me that Mr. Vogel had gone on a journey to Mándará, but without taking with him any of his companions. I left in the afternoon as early as the heat of the midday hours allowed me, in order to continue my journey towards the town of Máshena. We encamped this evening at the well belonging to a village called Allamáibe, a name not unfrequent in this region, and we were most hospitably treated by the inhabitants who, enjoying themselves with music and dancing, celebrated also my own arrival with a song; they moreover sent me several dishes of native food.

Wednesday,  
Nov. 29th.

The whole tract which we traversed in pursuing our road from hence to the town of Máshena, was chiefly adorned with dúm-palms, which did not cease till just before we reached Demánmária; and the country was tolerably well inhabited and exhibited some signs of industry. Cattle also were not wanting; and I observed that at a village which we passed near the town of Mairimája, although it was then nearly half-past nine o'clock in the morning, the cattle had not yet been driven out. Here the water did not seem to be at any great depth below the surface, some of the wells measuring not more than four fathoms. Having then traversed a district

where the tamarind tree was the greatest ornament, we reached the town of Máshena, with its rocky eminences scattered about the landscape, and encamped a few hundred yards to the west of the town. I have made a few observations with regard to this place on my former journey, but neither then nor at this time, did I visit the interior. I will only add, that it was in this place that the sheríf Mohammed el Fási, the agent of the vizier of Bórnu in Zinder, with whom my supplies had been deposited, was slain in the revolution of the preceding year. Not long after I had pitched my tent, I received a visit from an Arab, of the name of 'Abd Alláhi Shén, who had assisted the usurper 'Abd e' Rahmán as a sort of broker, and who, in consequence, had been exiled by the Sheikh 'Omár as soon as the latter again recovered possession of the supreme power, and it was in order to beg me to solicit his pardon at the hands of the Sheikh, that he addressed himself to me. He also informed me, that the road was at present by no means safe, being greatly infested by the people of Bédde, who were taking advantage of the weak state to which the Bórnu kingdom had been reduced by the civil war. Corn was here exceedingly dear, or rather not to be had at all, and beans was the only thing I could procure.

From hence I followed at first my former track, till I came to the place where on that occasion I had lost my road; and here I took a more southerly direction, and passed the hot hours in Lamíso, a middle-



sized town surrounded with a low rampart of earth. Outside the town there was a market-place, where a market was just being held, tolerably well supplied, not only with corn, but also with cotton; besides these, beans, dodówa, the dúm-fruit, dried fish, and indigo, formed the chief articles for sale; and I bought here a pack-ox for 10,000 shells. As soon as the bargain was concluded, I again pursued my journey, and, after some time, fell into my old track. Having thus reached the town of Allamáy, I pitched my tent inside the thick fence of thorny bushes. I had passed this town also on my former journey, and had then been greatly pleased at the sight of a numerous herd of cattle; but in the present ruinous condition of the country, not a single cow was to be seen; the whole place being entirely desolate. Even the water, which it was very difficult to obtain, was of bad quality.

The next morning I reached Búndi, after a short march, proceeding in advance of my camels, in order to pay my compliments to the governor, and to obtain from him an escort through the unsafe district which intervened between this town and Zurrikulo. After a little tergiversation, my old friend, the ghaladíma 'Omár, acceded to my request, giving me a guide who, he assured me, would procure an escort for me in the village of Sheshéri, where a squadron of horse was stationed for the greater security of the road. I had experienced the inhospitable disposition of this officer during my former stay here, and felt therefore little

inclination to be his guest a second time ; but if I had had any foreboding that Mr. Vogel was so near at hand, I would gladly have made some stay.

Having rejoined my camels, I set out, without delay, through the forest, taking the lead with my head servant, but I had scarcely proceeded three miles when I saw advancing towards me a person of strange aspect,—a young man of very fair complexion, dressed in a robe like the one I wore myself, and with a white turban wound thickly round his head. He was accompanied by two or three blacks, likewise on horseback. One of them I recognised as my servant Mâdi, whom, on setting out from Kúkawa, I had left in the house as a guardian. As soon as he saw me, he told the young man that I was ‘Abd el Kerím, in consequence of which, Mr. Vogel (for he it was) rushed forward, and, taken by surprise as both of us were, we gave each other a hearty reception from horseback. As for myself, I had not had the remotest idea of meeting him ; and he, on his part, had only a short time before received the intelligence of my safe return from the west. Not having the slightest notion that I was alive, and judging from its Arab address that the letter which I forwarded to him from Kanó was a letter from some Arab, he had put it by without opening it, waiting till he might meet with a person who should be able to read it.

In the midst of this inhospitable forest, we dismounted and sat down together on the ground ; and my camels having arrived, I took out my small bag

of provisions, and had some coffee boiled, so that we were quite at home. It was with great amazement that I heard from my young friend that there were no supplies in Kúkawa; that what he had brought with him had been spent; and that the usurper 'Abd e' Rahmán had treated him very badly, having even taken possession of the property which I had left in Zínder. He moreover informed me that he himself was on his way to that place, in order to see whether fresh supplies had not arrived, being also anxious to determine the position of that important town by an astronomical observation, and thus to give a firmer basis to my own labours. But the news of the want of pecuniary supplies did not cause me so much surprise as the report which I received from him, that he did not possess a single bottle of wine. For having now been for more than three years without a drop of any stimulant except coffee, and having suffered severely from frequent attacks of fever and dysentery, I had an insuperable longing for the juice of the grape, of which former experience had taught me the benefit. On my former journey through Asia Minor, I had contracted a serious fever in the swamps of Lycia, and quickly regained my strength by the use of good French wine. I could not help reproaching my friend for having too hastily believed the news of my death before he had made all possible inquiries; but as he was a new comer into this country, and did not possess a knowledge of the language, I could easily perceive that he

had no means of ascertaining the truth or falsehood of those reports.

I also learned from him, that there were despatches for me in Kúkawa, informing me of the expedition sent up the river Tsadda, or Bénuwé. With regard to his own proceedings, he informed me that his sole object in going to Mándará had been to join that expedition, having been misled by the opinion of my friends in Europe, who thought that I had gone to A'damáwa by way of Mándará, and that when once in Morá he had become aware of the mistake he had committed when too late, and had endeavoured in vain to retrieve his error by going from that place to Ujé, from whence the overthrow of the usurper 'Abd e' Rahmán, and the return of his brother 'Omár to power, had obliged him to return to Kúkawa.

While we were thus conversing together, the other members of the caravan in whose company Mr. Vogel was travelling arrived, and expressed their astonishment and surprise at my sitting quietly here in the midst of the forest, talking with my friend, while the whole district was infested by hostile men. But these Arab traders are great cowards; and I learned from my countryman that he had found a great number of these merchants assembled in Borzári, and afraid of a few robbers who infested the road beyond that place, and it was only after he had joined them with his companions that they had decided upon advancing.

After about two hours' conversation, we had to

separate; and while Mr. Vogel pursued his journey to Zinder (whence he promised to join me before the end of the month), I hastened to overtake my people, whom I had ordered to wait for me in Kálemrí. I have described this place on my outward journey as a cheerful and industrious village, consisting of two straggling groups, full of cattle and animation; but here also desolation had supplanted human happiness, and a few scattered huts were all that was at present to be seen. Having rested here for about an hour with my people, who had unloaded the animals at a short distance from the well, I started again at three o'clock in the afternoon, and reached Shechéri, where I was to receive my escort, this being the reason why I had been obliged to deviate from the main direction of my route. This time we encamped on the open square inside the village, where we were exposed to the dust and dirt raised by a numerous herd of cattle on their return from their pasture-grounds. This was a sign of some sort of comfort remaining; but we were disturbed in the night by a shrill cry raised, on account of a report having been just received that a party of native traders, or "fatáki," had been attacked by the Tawárek. In the morning, I had great difficulty in obtaining two horsemen for an escort; but I at last set out, taking a southerly detour instead of the direct road to Zurrikulo, and thus reached the town of Kerí-zemán, situated two miles and a half south-west from the former, along a track ornamented by a dense grove of dúm-palms.

Thus I reached Zurrikulo for the third time during my travels in Negroland ; but found it in a much worse condition than when I had last visited it in 1851, and the wall, although it had been considerably contracted, was still much too large for the small number of inhabitants. The governor, Kashélla Saïd, who paid me a visit in the evening, when I had pitched my tent at a short distance from his residence, requested urgently that, on my arrival in the capital, I would employ my influence with the Sheikh in order to induce him either to send him sufficient succours, or to recall him from this dangerous post ; otherwise he should take to flight with the rest of the inhabitants. There were here some Arabs who were scarcely able to conceive how I could pursue these difficult roads quite by myself, without a caravan.

In order to lessen the danger, I decided upon travelling at night, and set out about two o'clock in the morning, entering now a region consisting of high sandy downs and irregular hollows, full of dūmpalms, and occasionally forming the receptacle for a swampy sheet of water, where the wild hog appears to find a pleasant home. After a march of nearly ten hours, which greatly fatigued my camels, on account of the numerous sandy slopes which we had to go up and down, we reached the little hamlet of Gabóre, situated in a rather commanding position, bordered towards the north by a hollow dell. Here I encamped on the eastern side of the village, and was glad to treat my people with a sheep and a

few fowls. From the presence of these articles of luxury I was led to conclude that the inhabitants were tolerably well off, but I was not a little astonished to learn that they pay a certain tribute to the Tawárek, in order not to be exposed to their predatory incursions.

Monday,      It was not yet four o'clock when I was  
December 4th. again *en route*. I thought it remarkable that all this time, although not the slightest quantity of rain or moisture was perceptible, the sky was always overcast before sunrise. I was greatly pleased when I crossed my former path at the neat little village Káluwa, the aspect of which had made so deep an impression upon me at that time. Further on I kept to the south of my former track, through a well cultivated district, where all the fields were provided with those raised platforms intended as stations for the guardians, of which I have spoken on a former occasion. Thus passing a good many villages, we made halt during the hot hours at the village Dimísugá, under a group of fine hájilíj, the inhabitants treating us hospitably. Having then continued our journey at an early hour in the afternoon, we soon passed a village which in other respects presents nothing interesting, but the name of which is remarkable as showing the facetious turn of the natives. It is called "Búnc kayérde Sáíd," meaning, "Sleep, and rely upon Sáíd," the hamlet having evidently received this name from the native traders proceeding from the side of Bórnu, who thus evinced the confidence they felt in

entering the province of the energetic Kashélla Saíd, who they knew kept it in such a state of security that there was no danger from robbers.

While we were proceeding through an uninhabited hilly tract, my guide suddenly left me, so that being misled by the greater width of the path, and passing the village of Jíngerí, animated at the time by a group of lively females in their best attire, and just performing a marriage ceremony, I reached the town of Wádi, which I had touched at on my outward journey, and at length by a roundabout way arrived at Borzári, where I expected my people to join me. But I looked for them in vain the whole night. They had taken the road to Grémari. The governor treated me hospitably; but his object was to induce me to speak a word in favour of him to his liege lord.

In consequence of my people having taken another road, I lost the whole forenoon of the following day, and encamped about seven miles beyond Grémari, near the village called Mariámari. During this encampment I again heard the unusual sound of a lion during the night. But it must be taken into consideration that a branch of the komádugu passes at a short distance to the south of this place, and I therefore think myself right in supposing that, in Bórnu at least, lions are scarcely ever met with, except in this entangled net of water-courses which I had here reached. The next day I marched for a considerable time along the northern border of



this channel, girt by fine tamarind and fig trees, and occasionally by a group of düm-palms, till having passed the village of Dámen, and traversed a wide swampy tract, we crossed the first branch, which formed a fine sheet of water about a hundred yards broad, but only three feet deep, the only difficulty being in the steepness of the opposite shore.

Having passed the heat of the day under a neighbouring tamarind tree, we continued our march in a south-easterly direction to the village Dáway. Here we pitched our tent in the neat little square near the "insid," all the matting fences surrounding the cottages being new and having a very clean appearance. My object in staying here was to confer with the "bíllama" as to the best means of crossing the larger branch of the komádugu, which runs at a short distance beyond this village, and the passage of which was said to be very difficult at the time, encumbered as we were with animals and luggage. But it was very extraordinary that the people here contended that the river then was higher than it had been ten days previously; although I did not find this statement confirmed on our actually crossing it the following morning, the water exhibiting evident signs of having decreased, an observation which exactly corresponds with what I have remarked on a former occasion with regard to the nature of this komádugu. The river here spread out to a considerable extent, and we had some difficulty in crossing it. The greatest depth was more than four

feet; but the spreading out of the water was the reason that it was here passable at all, although it had become too shallow to employ the native craft, while lower down, between this place and Zéngiri, it could not be forded. Having then crossed three smaller channels and passed the village Kinjéberí, once a large town and encompassed by a wide clay wall, we took up our quarters in a poor hamlet called Margwa Sheríferí, from a sherif who had settled here many years ago; for, in order to procure myself a good reception from the ruler of Bórnu, after the great political disturbances which had taken place, I thought it prudent to send a messenger to him to announce my arrival. I only needed to give full expression to my real feelings in order to render my letter acceptable to my former protector, for my delight had been extreme, after the news which I had received of 'Abd e' Rahmán having usurped the supreme power, on hearing that the just and lawful Sheikh 'Omár had once more regained possession of the royal authority. The consequence was, that when, after having traversed the district of Koyám, with its straggling villages, its fine herds of camels, and its deep wells, some of them more than forty fathoms in depth, I approached the town on the 11th December, I found 'Abd e' Nebí, the chief eunuch of the Sheikh, with thirty horsemen posted at the village of Kalíluwá, where a market was just held, in order to give me a honourable reception. Thus I re-entered the town of Kúkawa, whence I had set out on my dangerous jour-

ney to the west, in stately procéssion. On entering my quarters I was agreeably surprised at finding the two sappers, Corporal Church and private Macguire, who had been sent out from England to accompany Mr. Vogel, and to join me, if possible, in my proceedings.

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CHAP. LXXXIV.

LAST RESIDENCE IN KÚKAWA. — BENEFIT OF EUROPEAN SOCIETY.

ON reaching safely the town of Kúkawa, which had been my head-quarters for so long a period, and from whence I had first commenced my journeys of exploration in Negroland, it might seem that I had overcome all the difficulties in the way of complete success, and that I could now enjoy a short stay in the same place before traversing the last stage of my homeward journey. Such however was not the case, and it was my lot to pass four months in this town under rather unpleasant circumstances. I had expected to find sufficient means here, and had in consequence agreed to repay the sum of 200 dollars lent me by the Fezzáni merchant Khweldi, in Kanó; but there were only a few dollars in cash left of the supplies taken out by Mr. Vogel, those deposited by myself in Zínder in the hands of the Sheríf el Fási, viz., 400 dollars in cash and a box containing a considerable amount of iron ware, having been plundered during the turbulent state of the country produced by the revolution. Even of the merchandise which had been lately despatched to Zínder, and from thence, in consequence of Mr. Vo-

gel's arrangements, transported to Kúkawa, a very considerable proportion was found, on a close examination, to have been abstracted. Being therefore in want of money, and convinced that if such an outrage were allowed to pass by unnoticed no peaceable intercourse could ever be carried on between this country and Europeans, I explained these circumstances in the first audience which I had of the Sheikh, to whom I made a present worth about eight pounds sterling.

While therefore once more assuring him of my unbounded satisfaction at finding him reinstated in his former power, I requested him not to suffer me to be treated in this manner by thieves and robbers, and to exert his influence for the restoration of my property. This proceeding of mine, as responsible to the government, under whose auspices I was travelling, involved me in a series of difficulties, and excited against me Diggama, one of the most influential courtiers at the time, and a man of mean character, as it was his servant, or more probably himself, who had obtained possession of the greater part of the plunder. In order to counteract the intrigues of this man I endeavoured to secure the friendship of Yusuf, the Sheikh's next eldest brother, an intelligent and straightforward man, by making him a handsome present and explaining to him, in unequivocal terms, how a friendly intercourse between themselves and the English could only exist if they acted in a conscientious manner.

Another circumstance which contributed to render my situation in this place still more uncomfortable, was the relation which existed between Mr. Vogel and Corporal Church, one of the sappers who had come with him from England; and I was sorry that the praiseworthy and generous intention of the Government in sending out these two useful persons, should not be carried out to the fullest extent, but, on the contrary, should be baffled by private animosity. In this respect I had already been greatly disappointed and grieved, on hearing from Mr. Vogel, when I met him on the road, that he had gone alone to Mándará, without making any use of the services of his companions. I did all in my power to convince the two sappers that under the circumstances in which they were placed, they ought to forget petty jealousies, as it was only by a mutual good understanding that complete success in such undertakings could be secured. I succeeded in convincing Macguire, although I was less successful with Corporal Church.

Meanwhile I spent my time in a tolerably useful manner, looking over some of the books which Mr. Vogel had brought with him, especially M. Jomard's introduction to the translation of the "*Voyage au Waday*," by M. Perron, and the "*Flora Nigritia*" of Sir William Hooker. I was also considerably interested by the perusal of a packet of letters which had been conveyed in the very box that had been plundered, and which, although dating back as late

as December, 1851, afforded me a great deal of pleasure. Partly in order to fulfil a vow which I had made, and partly to obtain a more secure hold upon the friendly dispositions of the natives, I made a present to the inhabitants of the capital, on Christmas-day, of fourteen oxen, not forgetting either rich or poor, blind or fókara, nor even the Arab strangers.

My residence in the town became infinitely more cheerful, in consequence of the arrival of Mr. Vogel, on the 29th December, when I spent a period of twenty days most pleasantly in the company of this enterprising and courageous young traveller, who, with surprising facility, accustomed himself to all the relations of this strange life. But while borne away by the impulse of his own enthusiasm, and giving up all pretensions to the comforts of life, he unfortunately committed the mistake of expecting that his companions, recently arrived from Europe, and whose ideas were less elevated, should do the same, and this had given rise to a lamentable quarrel, which frustrated in a great measure the intentions of the Government who had sent out the party. Exchanging opinions with regard to countries which we had both of us traversed, and planning schemes as to the future course which Mr. Vogel was to pursue, and especially as to the next journey which he was to undertake towards Yákoba and A'damáwa, we passed our time very agreeably. I communicated to him, as far as it was possible in so short a space of time, all the information which I had collected during

my extensive wanderings, and called his attention to various points which I begged him to clear up, especially with regard to some remarkable specimens of the vegetable kingdom, and the famous mermaid of the Bényuwé, the “ayú.” It was rather unfortunate that no copy of the map which had been constructed from the materials which I had sent home had reached him, so that he remained in the dark with regard to many points which I had already cleared up. I also delivered to Mr. Vogel those letters of introduction which I had received from the ruler of Sókoto, addressed to the various governors of the provinces in this part of his empire, so that he had a fair prospect before him of being well received. We, moreover, lost no time in obtaining the Sheikh's consent to his journey, and at the same time caused to be imprisoned Mesaúd, that servant of the mission who, by his connivance, had facilitated the theft committed upon my effects. In consequence of this energetic proceeding, several of the stolen articles came to light, even of those which had formed the contents of the box sent from England.

Thus we began cheerfully the year 1855, in which I was to return to Europe, from my long career of hardships and privations, and in which my young friend was to endeavour to complete my discoveries and researches, first in a south-westerly direction, towards the Bényuwé, and then eastwards, in the direction of the Nile. We likewise indulged in the hope that



he might succeed, after having explored the provinces of Baúchi and A'damáwa, in penetrating eastward along that highly interesting route which leads from Saráwu to Lóggoné, round the southern border of the mountainous country of Mándará.

Meanwhile some interesting excursions to the shores of the Tsád, formed a pleasant interruption in our course of studies and scientific communications, and these little trips were especially interesting, on account of the extraordinary manner in which the shores of the lake had been changed since I last saw them, on my return from Bagirmi, the water having destroyed almost the whole of the town of Ngórnu, and extending as far as the village of Kúkia, where we had encamped the first night on our expedition to Músgu. There were two subjects which caused me some degree of anxiety with regard to the prospects of this enterprising young traveller,—the first being his want of experience, which could not be otherwise expected in a young man fresh from Europe; and the other, the weakness of his stomach, which made it impossible for him to eat any meat at all. The very sight of a dish of meat made him sick. I observed that Macguire was affected in the same manner.

• Having obtained, with some difficulty, the letter of recommendation from the Sheikh, and prepared everything that Mr. Vogel wanted to take with him, forming a sufficient supply to maintain him for a whole year, I accompanied my young friend out of the town, in the

afternoon of the 20th January. But our start was rather unlucky, several things having been left behind; and it was after some delay and uncertainty that we joined the people who had gone on in advance with the camels, at a late hour, at the village of Diggigi. Here we passed a cheerful evening, and drank with spirit to the success of the enterprise upon which my companion was then about to engage. Mr. Vogel had also taken with him all his meteorological instruments, and his luggage being of a manifold description and rather heavy, I foresaw that he would have great trouble in transporting it through the difficult country beyond Yákoba, especially during the rainy season; and indeed it is evident, from the knowledge which we possess of his further proceedings, that he either left his instruments behind in the capital of Baúchi, or that he lost them in crossing a river between that place and Záriya. As for his barometer, which he had transported with great care to Kúkawa, it went out of order the moment it was taken from the wall.

Having borne him company during the following day's march, I left him with the best wishes for his success. I had taken considerable pains in instructing his companion, Corporal Macguire, in the use of the compass, as the accurate laying down of the configuration of the ground seemed to me of the highest importance in a mountainous country like Baúchi and A'damáwa. For Mr. Vogel himself could not be induced to undertake such a task,

as it would have interfered greatly with the collecting of plants, which, besides making astronomical observations, was his chief object; and besides being an extremely tedious business, it required a degree of patience which my young friend did not possess.\* However, I am afraid that even Macguire did not follow up my instructions for any length of time. At all events, as he did not accompany Mr. Vogel beyond Yákoba, it seems evident that even if his journal should be saved, we should probably not find all the information with regard to the particulars of his route which we might desire in such a country; for during all the journeys which he has pursued, as far as we have any knowledge of them, he relied entirely upon his astronomical observations. I will say nothing here with regard to the results of this journey, as we may entertain the hope that his journals may still be saved, and that we may thus learn something more of him than the little which has as yet come to our knowledge.

It may be easily imagined, that on returning to Kúkawa I felt rather desolate and lonely; but I had other reasons for feeling uncomfortable, for having exposed myself to the cold the preceding night, I was seized with a violent attack of rheumatism, which

\* Macguire was to accompany Mr. Vogel on his excursion, and he promised cheerfully to assist him in every way towards accomplishing the objects of Her Majesty's government. As for Corporal Church, it was thought the best plan that he should return to Europe in my company.

laid me up for a long time, and which, causing me many sleepless nights, reduced me to an extraordinary degree of weakness, from which I did not recover for the greater part of the month. Nevertheless, I did not desist from requesting the Sheikh, in the most urgent terms, to send me on my way, and to supply me at least with camels, in compensation for the loss which I had sustained through the insurrection. I had hopes that he would allow me to set out at the beginning of the next Mohammedan month, and I was therefore extremely delighted when two respectable Arabs came forward and offered to accompany me on my journey to Fezzán, although I did not much rely on the expectations which they raised. Meanwhile, on the 3rd February, the pupils of the Sheikh el Bakáy, who had stayed so long behind in Kanó, reached Kúkawa, and their arrival was not at all disagreeable to me, although they put me to fresh expense; for, by their authority, as being the followers of a highly venerated Mohammedan chief, they increased the probability of my safely entering upon my home journey. I therefore went with my friends to pay a visit to Zén el A'bidín, the son-in-law of the Sheikh el Bakáy, who, having been formerly employed by the Sheikh 'Omár as a messenger to the emír of Sókoto, was now again to return eastward; for having in the beginning been treated rather unkindly by his wife Zéna, "The Ornament," El Bakáy's daughter, he had thought it better to console himself with a pilgrimage to Mekka, and did not now appear

willing to listen to the solicitations of his repentant wife, who sincerely wished him to return to bear her company. I found him a simple and decent looking man, whose manners pleased me the more as he abstained entirely from begging, and I testified the obligation which I bore to his family, by sending him an ox for slaughtering, a sheep, and some smaller articles. I had also the pleasure of meeting here the sherif 'Abd e' Rahmán, the same man whom we had met four years previously in the country of A'ír, and who had lately returned from A'damáwa. He brought me the latest information of the state of that country, and as he was to return again in that direction, at a later period when I had received fresh supplies, I thought it prudent to give him a small parcel to deliver to Mr. Vogel wherever he should fall in with him, especially a few túrkedis and some sugar, of which he had taken with him only a small supply.

Having hired a guide and protested repeatedly to the Sheikh that I could not wait any longer, my health having suffered considerably from my five years' stay in these countries, I left the town on the 20th February, and pitched my tent on the high ground at Dárwerghú, just above the pool or swamp, round the southern border of which sorghum is cultivated to a considerable extent, and which in the daytime formed the watering-place for numerous herds of cattle. During the night it was visited by a great number of water fowl. On the whole, I felt

extremely happy in having at length left behind me a town of which I had become excessively tired.

But it was not my destiny to get off so easily, and leave this country so soon, for I had had repeated and very serious consultations, not only with the Sheikh, but especially with his brother, Abba Yusuf, who was distinguished by his learning and his love of justice, about the parcel sent by Her Majesty's government, together with the 400 dollars which I had left behind in Zinder, and which had been stolen in consequence of the revolutionary outbreak. After a great deal of discussion, the Sheikh promised me that he would restore what I had lost. But, knowing from experience that with these people time is of no value, and finding my health rapidly declining, I had come to the resolution of not waiting any longer, and the Sheikh, seeing that I was determined, according to all appearance gave his full approval to my departure by sending me, on the morning of the 21st, five camels, which, although of very inferior quality, yet held out to me a slight hope of proceeding on my journey. But in the afternoon of the 22nd he sent to me my old friend Háj Edrís, in order to induce me to return into the town; and the latter made me all sorts of promises as to the manner in which the Sheikh wanted to grant me redress for all the claims which I had upon him. In order to show the ruler of the country that I had no fault to find with his own conduct, and to entreat him once more to send me off without further delay, I

went into the town in the course of the afternoon<sup>\*</sup> and paid my respects to him. He desired me to return with all my effects to my old quarters; but I told him that was impossible, as my state of health rendered it essential for me to return home without further delay, whereas by taking up my quarters once more inside the town, according to their own slow mode of proceeding, I was sure not to get away before a couple of months had elapsed; but I said that I would gladly wait outside some days longer, and that if he wished I would come into the town every day in order to ascertain if there was anything he wished to say to me. To this the Sheikh seemed to agree at the time, and thus I took leave of him in the most quiet and satisfactory manner, and it appeared as if every thing was arranged and that he would in no way interfere with my departure. I therefore bought two more camels the following day, out of a large number which had been brought into the town by the Tebu, from the Bahhr el Ghazál; and on the 25th, through the mediation of a respectable Tebu merchant, of the name of Háj el Bígghela, made an agreement with a guide, paying him half of his salary in advance. The same evening the Sheikh sent me some more provisions.

Thus, all seemed ready for my departure, although I had not many people at my disposal; but when it had only been delayed one day by accident, there appeared suddenly, in the afternoon of the 28th, 'Alí Zintelma, that same servant of Dígghelma who had stolen part of the merchandise which he was bringing

from Zínder to Kúkawa, at the head of four horsemen armed with muskets, bringing me an order from the Sheikh to return to the town. Feeling convinced, from the character of the messenger, that if I did not obey the order I should expose myself to all sorts of insults from this contemptible villain, if I did not rid myself of him in a violent and unlawful manner, I thought it prudent, heartrending though it was, to resign myself in obedience to the tyrannical will of these people. It happened rather fortunately for me that Sidi A'hmed, the chief of Sidi el Bakáy's messengers, was staying with me at the time in my encampment. Having therefore sent my people in advance to my old quarters, I went to see the Sheikh. I then protested against such a proceeding; but he himself did not speak, a younger brother of his, of the name of Abba 'Othmán, taking the lead in the conversation, and stating that the Sheikh could not allow me to depart in this manner; and from all that I could learn, I concluded that it was especially this man who had persuaded his elder brother that it was not prudent to allow me to go unsatisfied as I was, and without having settled my claims, the dangers of the road also being very great. But the principal reason was, that a Tebu messenger had arrived with letters from the north, although I did not hear what the letters addressed to the Sheikh himself contained; but I afterwards learned that this man had brought the news of the approach of a caravan, and it was but natural that the Sheikh should wish to await its ar-



rival. This messenger brought nothing for me except a copy of a despatch of Lord Clarendon's, dated 10th June, 1853, and consequently more than twenty months old. The news of my death seemed to be fully accredited in Tripoli and Fezzán, my letter, forwarded from Kanó, of course not having arrived in the latter place when this parcel left; and the only thing which afforded me satisfaction in my unpleasant situation were a few Maltese portfolios, which gave me some information of what had been going on in Europe four months previously.

All that now remained for me under the present circumstances was, to resign myself in patience, although the delay pressed upon me with indescribable heaviness, and I had scarcely energy enough to endeavour to employ my time usefully. However, a rather pleasant intermezzo occurred, whereby at the same time one of the conditions was fulfilled upon which my own departure was dependent, by the arrival of the Arab caravan from the north; and on the 23rd of March, I went to see them encamped in Dáwerghú, the path being enlivened by all sorts of people going out to meet their friends, and to hear what news had been brought by the new comers. The caravan consisted of rather more than a hundred Arabs, but not more than sixty camels, the chief of the caravan being Háj Jáber, an old experienced Fezzáni merchant. There was, besides, an important personage of considerable intelligence, notwithstanding his youth, viz. Abba A'hmed ben Hamma el Kánemi.

These people had left Fezzán, under the impression that I was dead, and were therefore not a little surprised at finding me alive, especially that same Mohammed el 'Akeróút, from whom I had received the 1000 dollars in Zínder, and who was again come to Negroland on a little mercantile speculation. This caravan also carried 1000 dollars for the mission, but it was not addressed to me, as I had long been consigned to the grave, but to Mr. Vogel, although the chief of the caravan offered to deliver it to me. All this mismanagement, in consequence of the false news of my death, greatly enhanced the unpleasant nature of my situation ; for, instead of leaving this country under honourable circumstances, I was considered as almost disgraced by those who had sent me out, the command having been taken from me and given to another. There is no doubt that such an opinion delayed my departure considerably ; for, otherwise, the Sheikh would have exerted himself in quite a different manner to see me off, and would have agreed to any sacrifice in order to satisfy my claims. However, in consequence of the representations of Abba A'hmed, he sent me on the 28th through that same Diggelma, to whom I was indebted for the greater part of my unpleasant situation, the 400 dollars which had come along with the box of English ironware, and he offered even to indemnify me for the loss of the articles contained in the box. This however I did not feel justified in accepting, as the value of those contents had been greatly exaggerated by the agent in

Múrzuk, and claims raised in consequence. Nevertheless, the amount received was a great relief to me, as without touching the sum brought by the caravan, I was thus enabled to pay back the 200 dollars lent me by the Fezzáni merchant Kweldi, and to pay my servant Mohammed el Gastróni, the only one of my free servants who was still staying with me, the greater proportion of the salary due to him, for I had succeeded in paying off my other servants from the money realized by my merchandise.

Meanwhile I endeavoured to pass my time as well as I could, studying the history of the empire of Bórnu, and entering occasionally into a longer conversation with some of the better instructed of my acquaintances, or making a short excursion; but altogether my usual energy was gone, and my health totally undermined, and the sole object which occupied my thoughts was, to convey my feeble body in safety home. My reduced state of body and mind was aggravated by the weather, as it was extremely hot during this period, the thermometer in the latter part of the month of April, at half-past two o'clock in the afternoon, rising as high as 113°.\* My exhausted condition had at least this effect upon the people, that it served to hasten my departure, by convincing them that I should not be able to stand this climate any longer. From the 20th of April there-

\* It was rather remarkable, that on the 15th of April, we had a few drops of rain, accompanied by repeated thunder; and altogether, as the sequel showed, the rainy season that year appeared to set in at a rather unusual and early period for Kúkawa.

fore onward I was made to hope, that I should be allowed to proceed on my journey, in the company of a Tebu merchant of the name of Kólo. A small caravan of Tebu, proceeding to Bilma to fetch salt, having gone in advance on the 25th, I went in the afternoon of the 28th to the Sheikh, in company with Abba A'hmed who, on the whole, was extremely useful to me in my endeavours to get off, in order to make my final arrangement with Kólo. This day was certainly the happiest day or the only happy one which I passed in this place after the departure of Mr. Vogel; for, in the morning, on returning from an excursion to Dáwerghú, I found a messenger with letters from my companion, one dated from Gújeba, the other from Yákoba, wherein he informed me of the progress of his journey, and how he had safely reached the latter place, which had never before been visited by a European. He also informed me that he was just about to start for the camp, or sansánne, of the governor, who had been waging war for the last seven years against a tribe of idolaters whom he had sworn to subject. Greatly delighted at the prospect which opened to my fellow traveller, whom I was to leave behind me, of filling up the blanks which I had left in my discoveries, I made the messenger a handsome present. Being thus considerably relieved in mind and full of hopes, I bore with patience and resignation some little disagreeable incidents which occurred before my final departure, especially the loss of two of the camels which I had recently bought.

## CHAP. LXXXV.

## REAL START. — SMALL PARTY.

AT length on the 4th of May, I left the town and encamped outside, close in front of the gate. The Sheikh had also given me another camel, and a young and rather weak horse, which did not seem very fit for such a journey, and which in the sequel proved rather a burden than otherwise to me. In this spot I remained some days, waiting for my fellow-traveller Kólo, who was still detained in the town, so that I did not take leave of the Sheikh until the 9th of the month, when he received me with great kindness, but was by no means backward in begging for several articles to be sent to him, especially a small cannon, which was rather out of comparison with the poor present which he had bestowed upon myself. However, he promised me that I should still receive another camel from him, of which I stood greatly in need, although I had made up for one which was lost during my stay before the gate of the town, through the carelessness of A'bbeqa, by buying a fresh camel at the last moment of my departure. It was for this purpose that I took the sum of thirty

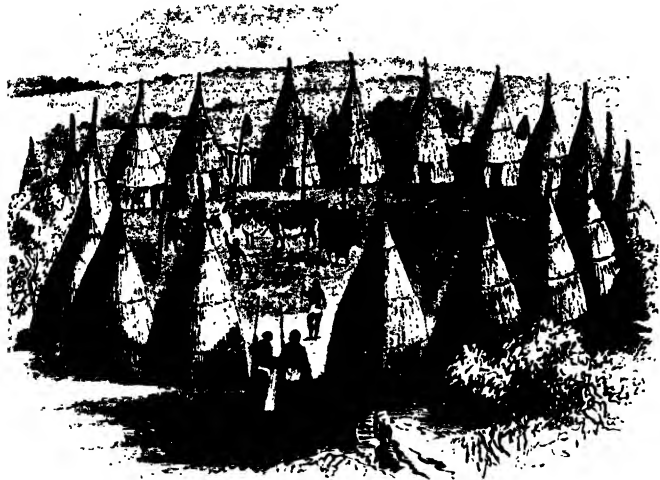
dollars from the 1000 dollars brought by the caravan, and which I was anxious to leave behind for the use of Mr. Vogel. Altogether I was extremely unfortunate with my camels, and lost a third one before I had proceeded many miles from the town, so that I was obliged to throw away several things with which my people had overladen my animals.

Our move from Dáwerghú in the afternoon of the 10th was very inauspicious; and while a heavy thunder-storm was raging, enveloping everything in impenetrable darkness, only occasionally illumined by the flashes of lightning, I lost my people, and had great difficulty in joining them again. Having then moved on by very short marches as far as Nghurútuwa, through a finely wooded valley called Hénderi Gálliram, we pitched our tents on the 14th of May near the town of Yó, where, to my utmost disappointment, we had to stay the five following days, during which the interesting character of the komádugu, which at present did not contain a drop of water, with its border of vegetation, afforded me but insufficient entertainment. It would, however, have been curious for any European, who had adhered to the theory of the great eastern branch of the Niger flowing along this bed from the Tsád, to see us encamped in the dry bottom of this valley. At all events, oppressed as I had been all the time by the apprehension that something might still occur to frustrate my departure, I deemed it one of the happiest moments of my life,

when in the afternoon of Saturday the 19th, we at length left our station at this northern frontier of Bórnu, in the present reduced state of that kingdom; and I turned my back with great satisfaction upon these countries where I had spent full five years in incessant toil and exertion. On retracing my steps northwards, I was filled with the hope that a Merciful Providence would allow me to reach home in safety, in order to give a full account of my labours and discoveries; and, if possible, to follow up the connections which I had established with the interior, for opening regular intercourse with that continent.

Our first day's march from here, however, was far from being auspicious; for, having met with frequent delays and stoppages, such as are common at the commencement of a journey, and darkness having set in, the three monkeys which I wished to take with me, by their noise and cries, frightened the camels so much that they started off at a gallop, breaking several things, and amongst others a strong musket. I saw, therefore, that nothing was to be done but to let loose these malicious little creatures, which, instead of remaining quiet, continually amused themselves with loosening all the ropes with which the luggage was tied on the backs of the animals. Having encamped this night at a late hour, we reached, the following morning, the town of Bárruwa, and remained here the whole day, in order to provide ourselves with the dried fish which is here prepared in large quantities, and which constitutes the most useful article for procuring

the necessary supplies in the Tebu country. The Dáza, or Búlgudá, who were to join us on the march, had been encamped in this spot since the previous day. From here we pursued our road to Ngégini; but the aspect of the country had greatly changed since I last traversed it on my return from Kánem, the whole of the road which I had at that time followed being now covered with water, the great inundation of the Tsád



not having yet retired within its ordinary boundaries. The whole shore seemed to have given way and sunk a few feet. Besides this changed aspect of the country, several hamlets of Kánembú cattle-breeders, such as represented in the accompanying woodcut, caused great relief and animation.



It was also interesting to observe the Búdduma, the pirate inhabitants of the islands of the lagune, busily employed in their peculiar occupation of obtaining salt from the ashes of the "siwák," or the *Capparis sodata*. Having rested during the hot hours of the day, we took up our quarters in the evening just beyond a temporary hamlet of these islanders; for although watchfulness, even here, was very necessary in order to guard against any thievish attempt, yet, in general, the Búdduma seem to be on good terms with the Tebu, with whom they appear to have stood in intimate political connection from ancient times.

Tuesday,  
May 22nd.

At the distance of only a mile from our encampment we passed, close on our left, the site of Wúdi, enlivened by a few date-palms, the whole open grassy plain to the right, over which our former road to Kánem had lain, being enveloped in a wider or narrower strip of water. Having halted again, at the beginning of the hot hours, in a well-wooded tract, we observed in the afternoon a herd of elephants, which passed the heat of the day comfortably in the midst of the water, and among the number a female with her young. Further on, we were met by a troop of five buffaloes, an animal which, during my former journey, I had not observed near the lake.

Thus we reached the new village of Ngégimi, which was built on the slope of the hills, the former town having been entirely swept away by the inundation. Here we remained the forenoon of the following day; the encampment being enlivened by a great number

of women from the village, offering for sale fish, in a fresh and dried state, besides a few fowls, milk, and "témari," the seeds of the cotton plant. But with the exception of a few beads for adorning their own sable persons, they were scarcely willing to receive anything besides corn. I was glad to see, instead of the ugly Bórnu females, these more symmetrical figures of the Kánembú ladies, the glossy blackness of whose skin was agreeably relieved by their white teeth as well as by their beads of the same colour. Our friends, the Dáza, who, five weeks previously had been driven back by the Tawárek, had recovered here their luggage, which on that occasion they had hastily deposited with the villagers, when making an attempt to cross the desert. They were here to separate from us for a time, as, for some reason or other, they wanted to pursue a more westerly track, leading by the Bír el Hammám, or Metémmi, which is mentioned by the former expedition, while our friend Kólo was bent upon keeping nearer the shores of the lagune, by way of Kibbo.

After a short conversation with the chief of the place, the May-Ngéginibe, we set out in the afternoon, and proceeding at a slow rate, as the camels were very heavily laden, we passed, after a march of about eight miles, along a large open creek of the lagune; and, having met some solitary travellers coming from Kánem, encamped, about eight in the evening, on rather uneven ground, and kept alternate watch during the night.

Thursday, May 24th. Starting at a very early hour, we soon ascended hilly ground; but, after we had proceeded some miles, were greatly frightened by the sight of people on our right, when we three horsemen pursued them till we had driven them to the border of the lake. For this whole tract is so very unsafe, that a traveller may feel certain that the few people whom he meets on the road, unless they bear distinctly the character of travellers like himself, will betray him to some predatory band. Having proceeded about nine miles, we halted near an outlying creek of the lake, the water of which was fresh, although most of these creeks contain brackish water. When we continued our march in the afternoon, we passed another creek, or rather a separate lake, and, winding along a narrow path made by the elephants, which are here very numerous, reached, after a march of a little more than ten miles, the leafy vale, or "hénderi," of Kibbo, and encamped on the opposite margin. This locality is interesting, as constituting, apparently, the northern limit of the white ant. We, however, were prevented by the darkness from making use of the well, as these vales are full of wild beasts, and we were therefore obliged to remain here the forenoon of the following day,—a circumstance which was not displeasing to me, as I did not feel at all well, and was obliged to have recourse to my favourite remedy of tamarind-water. We pursued our march before the sun had attained its greatest power; but met with frequent stoppages, the slaves of our Tebu companions, who were heavily laden

and suffering from the effects of the water, being scarcely able to keep up; a big fellow even laid down never to rise again. Indeed it would seem as if the Tebu treated their slaves more cruelly than even the Arabs, making them carry all sorts of articles, especially their favourite dried fish.

After a march of not more than twelve miles, we halted some distance to the east of the well of Kufé, and were greatly excited in consequence of the approach of our fellow-travellers the Dáza, whom, at the moment, we did not at first recognise. This locality was also regarded so unsafe for a small caravan, that we started again soon after midnight, and halted after a march of about fifteen miles, when we met a courier coming from Kawár with the important news that Hassan Bashá, the governor of Fezzán, who had been suffering from severe illness for several years, had at length succumbed; and that the E'fedé, that turbulent tribe on the northern frontier of A'sben, which had caused us such an immense deal of trouble in the first part of our expedition, had undertaken a foray to Tibésti,—a piece of news which influenced our own proceedings very considerably, as we were thus exposed to the especial danger of falling in with this predatory band, besides the danger which in general attaches to the passage through this extensive desert tract, which extends from Negroland to the cultivated zone of North Africa. It was this circumstance, together with the great heat of the mid-day hours at this hottest part of the year, which obliged

us, without the least regard to our own comfort, to travel the greater part of the night; so that I was unable to rectify and complete, in general, the observations of the former expedition, the route of which, being entirely changed by the new astronomical data obtained by Mr. Vogel, would be liable to some little rectification throughout.

Having rested during the hot hours of the day, we pursued our march about two o'clock in the afternoon, when, after a stretch of about two miles, we entered a fine hilly district, well adapted for pasture-grounds for camels and sheep, but untenanted in the present deserted state of the country. A mile and a half further on, we passed the well of Mul, which was at present dry, and then winding along the fine valley, were detained a long time by the loss of another camel. Having then encamped, after a march altogether of about ten miles, we started again, an hour after midnight, and after travelling nearly thirteen miles, reached the well of U'nghurutín, situated in a hollow surrounded with fine vegetation, and affording that most excellent fodder for camels, the "hád;" besides which there was a great deal of "retem," or broom.

Having spent the Sunday in U'nghurutín quietly, and indulging in some little repose, we started a little after midnight, and did not encamp till after a march of about fifteen miles. It was interesting to observe, when the day began to dawn, that all along this region a considerable quantity of

Monday,  
May 28th.

rain had fallen, in consequence of which "hád" and "sebód" covered the ground, although we were extremely glad to escape from that great annoyance to travellers, the feathery bristle, or "ngibbi." Another twelve miles in the afternoon, through a more open country, broken in the earlier part by a few specimens of the tree "símsim," brought us to the well Bedwáram, or Bélkashi-fárri, where we encamped at the foot of the eastern eminence, choosing our ground with great care, as we were to recruit here our strength by a longer stay, the well being at present frequented by a number of that section of the Gunda tribe of Tebu, which is called "Wándalá," or "Aussa." For in general the well is by no means a safe retreat, and it seems to have been at this well, or in the neighbourhood, that Corporal Macguire was slain last year, when returning home, after the report of the death of his chief, Mr. Vogel.

We had great trouble in opening the wells; for we needed a large provision of water, as, besides filling our skins, we had here to water all our camels. Only one of the wells was open at the time, and contained very little water. It is easily to be understood in what a perilous position a small caravan would be, if attacked under such circumstances by a gang of highway robbers, and I felt particularly obliged to Sheikh 'Omár for having afforded me the protection of the salt merchants, the Dáza, who were busy the whole day long in digging out the wells. I was glad to find that the temporary inhabitants of the place be-

haved quietly and decently, and even brought us some camels' milk, which they bartered for small looking-glasses.

Having remained here also the 30th, we started in the afternoon of the last of May, and, after a good stretch of nearly twenty miles, encamped. We set out again after about four hours' rest, when having proceeded some six miles, we entered the open sandy waste, just beyond a fine group of símsim trees, and halted again, during the heat of the day, after a march of about six miles more. I here enjoyed again the wide expanse of the open desert, which, notwithstanding its monotony, has something very grand about it, and is well adapted to impress the human mind with the consciousness of its own littleness, although, at the present season, it presented itself in its most awful character, owing to the intense heat which prevailed.

Having a tedious march before us through the dreary desert of Tintúmna, we started for a long wearisome night's march, some time before the heat had attained its highest degree, only one hour after noon, but probably we should have acted wiser to have waited till the heat was past, as the poor slaves of my fellow-travellers were knocked up before the heat came on. Only a short rest of forty minutes was granted, at eight o'clock in the evening, for a cold supper of guinea-corn, when the caravan started again to continue its night-march over this unbounded sandy waste; but I, as well as my chief servant, being on horseback, I found myself

at liberty to remain some time behind, indulging in the luxury of a cup of coffee. I remained however almost too long; and if it had not been that, contrary to my orders, which were to the effect to spare the powder as much as possible, my servants kept firing their pistols off at random, in order to cheer themselves and the poor slaves, I should have had some difficulty in following the caravan. Cheered by the firing, and perhaps impressed with the awful character of the country which we were traversing at such an hour, the slaves, forgetful of their over-fatigue, kept up an uninterrupted song, the sounds of which fell occasionally upon my ears, as I followed them at a great distance. But under the effects of this excitement, and in the cool of the evening, they marched at such a rate, that I did not overtake them till long after midnight, when freemen and slaves began to feel exhausted, and would gladly have lagged behind; and I had to urge on several of these unfortunates, and prevent them from staying behind, and falling a sacrifice to thirst and fatigue. One of my servants was not to be seen. In fact this desert is famous for people well accustomed to it losing their way, and the white sand, extending to a boundless distance, is so confounding, that people often miss their direction entirely. But the fatigue of this night's march was very great indeed, and when the day dawned, I gladly availed myself of the opportunity afforded by a little herbage of giving a slight feed to my exhausted horse to obtain a few minutes' repose.



Pursuing then our dreary march, while a heavy wind rose, which by raising the dust made the desert look still more gloomy, we gradually discovered the rocky mountains of A'gadein ahead of us, but did not enter the peculiar valley formation till a quarter past seven o'clock. Here we chose our camping-ground in a corner surrounded by the "siwák," which form quite a little plantation, and occasionally attract temporary settlers, especially of the tribe called Bolo-dúwa, or A'm-wadébe. However, the sand wind made our stay here very cheerless, which was increased by the circumstance of the ground being full of camel lice, this being the usual camping-ground. The water of the well was clean and excellent, but not very plentiful, so that we had to take our supply for the road before us from a more northerly well. The servant who was missing not having been found, we waited anxiously for the arrival of the Dáza in the afternoon, when he made his appearance in their company. They had fortunately seen him at a great distance, when he had completely lost his way, and was wandering southward. I made a present to the man who had brought him back. We remained here the following day, and besides the small luxury of the wild fruit of the siwák, I was glad to be able to buy a vessel of butter from our friends the salt-traders, as my store of this article was nearly consumed.

Monday,      The poor slaves of our companions were so  
June 4th.      totally exhausted by the fatigue of the journey, that they would have preferred anything to a

continuance of such suffering, and when we started at a very early hour, a poor female slave tried to make her escape, by hiding herself in the bushes, but, she was soon found out, and received a severe flogging for her pains.

Proceeding along a very peculiar basin of natron, at the foot of the rocky slope, we reached after a march of about four miles the northern well, situated in an open pleasant landscape, the mountains on the east side receding in the distance. We remained here this day and the following forenoon, keeping back the Dáza, who were anxious to pursue their journey, for animals as well as men stood in need of some repose, in order to enable them to traverse the long desert tract which separated us from the Tebu country.

Just about noon, as we were packing ready to start, a thunder-storm gathered on the June 5th. chain towards the east, and a few drops of rain fell while we were setting out. Having then kept along the valley for about three miles, we ascended the higher ground with an easterly direction, and obtained a sight of the eastern slope of the chain which borders the valley, which, although not so high on this side as towards the west, seemed yet to have an elevation of about 300 feet. About three o'clock we had again a slight shower of rain. The whole of A'gadem, as I here became aware, forms a sort of wide extensive hollow, bordered on the eastern side

by this rocky chain, and towards the west at the distance of about three miles, as well as towards the north by sandy downs. The higher level itself, over which our track lay, was broken by considerable depressions, running east and west, and forming such steep slopes, that Clapperton's expression of high sand hills, which he had here to cross seems well justified; and we ourselves took up our encampment after a march of a little more than eleven miles in a hollow of this description, bordered by high sand hills towards the west. However, our halt was very short, and soon after midnight we pursued our march, the desert now becoming more level, and therefore allowing a steady progress by night. Pursuing our march with alacrity, we encamped after a stretch of about sixteen miles in a spot which was full of those remarkable crystallized tubes which are called "bargom-chidibe," by the Kanúri, and "kauchin-kassa," by the Háusa people; and the character of which has been explained in such various ways, some supposing them to be the effect of lightning, while others fancy them to be the covered walks with which the white ant had surrounded stalks of negro corn. Pursuing from here our march, a little before two in the afternoon we entered a sandy waste, which well deserved to be compared to the wide expanse of the ocean, although even here small rocky ridges protruded in some places; and after a march of about ten miles, we ourselves encamped under the protection of such a ridge.

Starting again from here at a very early hour in the night, we reached after a march of about six miles the well of Díbbela, the romantic character of which, with its high sand hills, from which black rocky masses towered forth, together with its dúm-palms, struck me not a little. But the water is abominable, being impregnated with an immense quantity of natron; and it was here that Mr. Henry Warrington, who had accompanied Mr. Vogel to Kúkawa, succumbed to the dysentery with which he had been seized on the road, the bad quality of the water having probably brought the disorder to a crisis. It was, moreover, a very hot day, although not hotter than usual, the thermometer at two o'clock indicating 109° in the best shade I could find; and the masses of sand all around were quite bewitching and bewildering. Starting again in the afternoon as soon as the heat had reached its greatest intensity, we ascended the sandy downs with a considerable westerly deviation, leaving just beyond this hollow another one, with some talha trees, and then keeping over the sandy level with a ridge of the same character, and passing after a march of about five miles a great quantity of kajiji, till after a good stretch of altogether seventeen miles, we encamped on hard sandy ground. On this tedious journey, I always felt greatly delighted on our arrival at the camping-ground, to stretch myself at full length on the clean sand, the softness of which makes one feel in no want of a couch.

Thursday,  
June 7th.

Having encamped at a rather late hour, we  
June 8th. did not start so early as usual, and halted after a march of about eight miles on a ground almost entirely destitute of herbage, but what seemed very remarkable, soaked by the rain of the previous day, and affording another and still stronger proof of the incorrectness of the opinion which had hitherto been entertained of this whole tract never being fertilized by the rains. The soil also was full of the footprints of the "bagr-el-wáhesh," *Antelope bubalis*, which being pursued by the sportsmen of A'gadein and Díbbela, had evidently sought a refuge in this region.

Having from hence made a stretch of about ten miles in the afternoon, and halted for nearly four hours at sunset, we started again for a wearisome night's march, deviating very considerably from our former track; and after a march of a little more than eighteen miles, the latter part over a difficult range of sand hills, we reached in the morning the well of Zaw-kurá in a dreadfully fatigued state, and with the loss of four camels; but it was cheering to find that the locality—a vale richly adorned with siwák, or *Capparis sodata*, afforded some relief not only to the body but even to the mind. We here met with a small caravan of Tebu, natives of the very ancient village of A'gherim or A'ghram, the place of which I have spoken on a former occasion\*, and which lies three days northwest from here by way of Yawi. Being

\* See Vol. II. p. 654.

on their road to Bórnu, they were anxious to exchange their camels for mine, the latter being accustomed to the climate of Bórnu whither they were going. Such an exchange is certainly advisable to travellers proceeding in either direction, in the event of the animals of each party being equally good; but, on the one hand, I wanted too badly the few camels which had withstood the fatigue, and, on the other, those of these people were too poor to allow me to accept their offer; and in consequence, they had to load the five horses which they had with them with water-skins. These people gave us the important information that the ghazzia of the Tawárek had returned from Tibésti, having made only a small booty of forty camels and thirty slaves, on account of the Tebu having been on their guard, although they threatened to return at some future period. We remained here the following day, enjoying the repose of which we stood so much in need. A strong wind had been blowing all night; but the heat, at two o'clock in the afternoon, reached its usual elevation of 108° in the best shade.

We started again in the afternoon, winding round the south-eastern edge of the considerable mountain group to which the vale is indebted for its existence, and having on our right sandy downs. Just at the spot where we left the small oasis, known to the traders of the desert as Zaw-kanwa, on our left, we fell in with the footsteps of a small party, when, supposing them to be marauders, we followed

Monday,  
June 11th.

them up for awhile, till we had convinced ourselves that they were people in search of a runaway slave. Pursuing then our march altogether about sixteen miles, we halted at nine o'clock in the evening; but started again at midnight, and after a march of fourteen miles, reached Muskátenu, the southernmost limit of the oasis of Kawár, although nothing but an inconsiderable shallow depression, full of marl and alum.

Although the heat was greater than usual, the thermometer indicating as much as  $110^{\circ}$ , we started with great alacrity in the afternoon, as we were now approaching the seats of Tebu power and civilization in the heart of the desert, where nature has provided this little fertile spot, in order to facilitate intercourse between distant nations. However, several sandy ridges opposed themselves to our progress before we reached the real beginning of the valley, at the western foot of a large and broad-topped rocky mound; but the sand was not so deep as I had been led by the description of other people to expect. Here the scenery became highly interesting, the verdant ground—where small patches of the grass called “ghedeb” and vegetables were sown, surrounded by slight fences of palm-bushes—being overtopped by handsome groups of palm-trees; and cheered as I felt by this spectacle, after the dreary march which we had made, I could not grudge my people a few shots of powder. But while our friends the Dáza salt-traders encamped at the very thickest

grove, where the dilapidated town of Bilma is situated, we ourselves entered a dreary salt-pan, and encamped about a mile further on, near a miserable little village called Kalála, without the ornament or shade of a single tree. Moreover, the ground was so hard, that it was only with the greatest difficulty that we were able to pitch the tent; and having no wood wherewith to cook a supper, a small hospitable gift from our friend Kólo, consisting first in a dish of fresh dates, and afterwards in a mess of cooked pudding, proved very acceptable. The miserable hamlet, besides a few hovels, scarcely to be distinguished from the ground, contained only the ruins of a mosque, which had been turned into a magazine for salt.

Our stay here became the more disagreeable, as towards the morning of the following day, a heavy gale arose, against which this open tract offered not the slightest protection; but I amused myself by paying a visit to the salt-pits, in the high mounds of rubbish, a few hundred yards to the east of our encampment. I was highly interested in the very peculiar character which they presented, the pits forming small quadrangular basins, of about four or five yards in diameter, deeply cut into the rock, where all the saltish substance contained in the ground collects, and is thence obtained, by pouring this water, impregnated with salt, into moulds of clay of the shape which I have described in my notice of the salt trade\*, in that part of my journey where I was

\* Vol. I. p. 504.



myself travelling in the company of the salt traders of A'sben. The salt, filtering through the sides of the mound, had all the appearance of long icicles. But at present only a small quantity of prepared salt was lying here, the season for the Kél-owí to carry it away being some months later, when this tract must present a very different aspect, and exhibit a considerable degree of activity; and it would have been highly interesting if Mr. Overweg had been able to visit the place at such a season, as he had intended.

It was also a circumstance of considerable interest, that about two o'clock in the afternoon, while the thermometer indicated  $107^{\circ} 3'$  in the best shade I could find, we had a slight shower, although this whole region has been set down as an entirely rainless zone. My camels being greatly reduced, and several of them of little value, I exchanged the two worst among them for one belonging to the Dáza, our former fellow-travellers, who being bent upon staying here a few days, before they undertook their home journey to Bórnu, were thus enabled to wait until the animals had recruited their strength.

June 14th.

At an early hour in the morning, long before the dawn of day, we continued our journey northward along the Wádi Kawár, as it is called by the Arabs, or the Héneri-tegé, valley of the Tegé or Tedá, as it is called by the natives, having the steep rocky cliffs, which at times formed picturesque platforms, at about three miles distance on

our right. Meanwhile the country became beautifully wooded at the dawn of the day, and numerous travellers attested a certain degree of industry in this curious abode of men in the heart of the desert. After a march of about twelve miles, where the valley became contracted by a lower rocky ridge crossing it, we encamped at the side of a palm-grove, with a number of draw-wells, or "kháttatír," where every kind of vegetable might be easily raised. The ground produced "aghlíl," and "molukhía," or *Corchorus olitorius*, and was surrounded by high sandy downs, while at some distance eastward a village is situated, of the name of E'ggir. Having halted here for about five hours, we pursued our journey, the strip of trees closely approaching the rocky cliff, and after a march of three miles, left on our right the village E'm-i-máddama, and further on, that called Shemílderu, lying partly at the foot, partly on the slope of the rocky cliffs on our right. Having then left a small isolated grove of date trees on the same side, we reached the beginning of the plantation of Dírki; and traversing the grove where the fruit was just ripening, we approached the dilapidated wall of the town, which presented a very poor spectacle, and then kept between it and the offensive salt-pool on our right, and encamped on the north side. This town, which, notwithstanding its insignificance, has a name all over the desert, was of some importance to me, from the fact of its containing the only blacksmith in the whole of this oasis, whom I wanted to prepare for me

a double set of strong shoes for each of my horses, as we had a very stony tract to traverse beyond this oasis. He promised to make them and to bring them up to us at A'shenúmma, but he did not keep his word, and thus was the cause of my losing one of my horses in that difficult tract. Having passed the villages of Tegimámi and Elíji, we reached the town of A'shenúmma, the residence of the chief of these Tebu, situated on a lower terrace formed by a gentle slope at the foot of the steep cliffs, and encamped in the bottom of the valley near an isolated group of sandstone rock, round which the moisture collects in large hollows, scarcely a foot below the surface of the gravel. All around, a rather thin grove of date trees spreads out; further westward, there are the two salt lakes mentioned by the members of the former expedition.

In the afternoon, I went into the town, to pay my respects to the chief whose name is Mai-Bákr. The place, which seems to have attracted the notice of Arab geographers from an early date, consists of about 120 cottages, built with rough stones, and scattered about on the slope, besides a few yards erected with palm branches. The cottages are very low, and covered in with the stems and leaves of the palm tree. A solitary conical hut, like those of Sudan, was likewise to be seen. One of the stone houses exhibited a greater degree of industry by its whitewashing, but the residence of the chief was not distinguished in any way. The latter, who bears the

title of Maina, was a man of advanced age and of respectable behaviour. At the time of our entrance he was squatted on fresh white sand in front of his "diggel," placed in the ante-chamber or *segífa*. He received my present (which consisted of a black tobe, two *túrkedís*, and a *harám*, worth altogether about four Spanish dollars) kindly, and expressed his hope that I might get safely over the tract before me, if I did not lose any time by a longer delay. Meanwhile a Tebu merchant who was present gave me the very doubtful information that the people of Tawát paid to the French an annual tribute of 60,000 dollars. The inhabitants of A'shenúmma and of the neighbouring places, are very differently situated from those of Dirki and Bilma, for the latter on account of their being the medium of communication in the salt trade, are respected by the Tawárek, for whom they prepare that article, and who, in consequence, do not plunder them even when they meet them in the desert. Nay, they even protect them, as I have described in the former part of my journey, so that merchants from Dirki and Bilma were proceeding to Háusa by way of A'sben. The inhabitants of the other places, on the contrary, such as A'shenúmma, are exposed to all sorts of oppression from the former, and even run the risk of being slain by them when met alone. With regard to the Tebu in general, I have already spoken repeatedly about their intimate connection with the Kanúri race, and have enumerated the names of the sections of their tribe,

so far as I have become acquainted with them, and I shall say more on the subject of their language in a preface to my vocabularies. It was a remarkable fact, but easily to be explained, that the greatest heat which I experienced in the desert was in this valley, the thermometer at two o'clock in the afternoon rising daily to between  $110^{\circ}$  and  $112^{\circ}$ .

We remained here the following day, when I enjoyed the scenery of the locality extremely, and made a sketch of it, which is represented in the plate opposite. I also desired Corporal Church, who, as I have stated above, was in my company, and who felt assured that Captain Clapperton had indicated the mountain chain on the west by mistake, to ascend the slope of the chain above A'shenúmma, in order to convince himself that that meritorious traveller had not been misled in such a strange manner. With the aid of my small telescope, he discovered in the far distance to the west, a chain bordering the valley in that direction. This breadth of the valley is even indicated by the distance intervening between A'gherim and Fáshi on the one side, and Bilma and Dírki on the other.

It was the holiday of the 'Aíd el fotr, and the inhabitants of the little town celebrated the day by a religious procession, in which there figured even as many as ten horses, and a few rounds of powder were fired. The petty chief also sent me a holiday dish, consisting of a sort of maccaroni made of millet, with a porridge of beans. It is a very re-











markable circumstance, and one that must not be forgotten by any traveller who pursues this road, that the inhabitants of the Tebu country esteem nothing more highly, nay, scarcely value anything at all, except dried fish, the stinking "búni," and that he may starve with all sorts of treasures in his bags, unless he be possessed of this article. I myself was even obliged to buy the grass or ghedeb (of which I stood in need for my camels) with dried fish, and I felt sorry that I had not laid in a greater supply of this article in Bárruwa.

Before setting out, I thought it prudent to pay another visit and bid farewell formally to May-Bákr, as I was anxious, unprotected as I was, to secure my rear. I then followed my camels, and having crossed two defiles, formed by projecting cliffs, which interrupt the valley, reached after a march of seven miles the town of Anikímma, situated at the side of an isolated promontory projecting from the cliffs, which form here a sort of wide recess, and encamped at the border of the palm grove, when I immediately received some hospitable treatment from my friend Kólo, who was a native of this place. This is the modern road which is taken at the present time, the town of Kisbi or rather Gázibi, which lies on the western side of the valley, and along which the former mission passed, being at present deserted. This road led in former times by Kisbi to Azanéres. But although we were treated in a friendly manner in this place, I did not like to

Monday,  
June 27th

lose any time, but was anxious to proceed at once to A'nay, the northernmost town in the valley of Kawár, in' order to prepare myself there, without the least delay, for that second great station of my desert journey which I had to traverse quite by myself, as my friend Kólo was to stay behind, and was not going to undertake the journey for a month or so. I recommended to him my freed slave 'Othmán, who had remained behind, as he was suffering from the effects of the guinea-worm. Kólo, however, accompanied me in the afternoon for a few hundred yards, together with a Tebu from Tibésti, of the name of Maina Dadakóre, who had recently been plundered of all his property by the Tawárek. The distance from Anikímma to A'nay is not very great, about two miles and a half. The site of A'nay is very peculiar, as may be seen from the description given by the former expedition\*, who were greatly struck by its singular appearance, although the view which they have given of the locality is far from being correct. The first thing which I had to do here was, to endeavour by means of dollars, cloves, and the remnant of dried fish which I still had left, to procure as large a supply of ghedeb as possible, in order to carry my camels through this trying journey, as my only safety with my small band of people consisted in the greatest speed. It was very unlucky for me that the blacksmith of Dirki broke his word in not bringing up the shoes for my horses, a circumstance which would

\* Denham and Clapperton's Travels, p. 17.

have been productive of the most serious consequences, if I had been attacked on the road, as both my horses became lame.

Having prepared everything in the fore-  
noon, we set out on our lonely and dangerous  
journey with a fervent prayer, and after a march of  
a little less than two miles emerged from the valley,  
or henderi, through a rocky defile. We then gradu-  
ally ascended the higher level of the desert plain,  
and having made a stretch of about sixteen miles,  
we encamped. Having kept strict watch, as it was  
not improbable that some people might have followed  
us, we started again at an early hour, long before the  
dawn of day, and after a march of about thirteen  
miles reached I'ggeba (Denham's Ikbar), a shal-  
low depression at the western foot of a mountain,  
clothed with some herbage and adorned with a rich  
profusion of düm-palms. The well here afforded a  
supply of the most delicious water. However, the  
locality was too unsafe for our small troop to make  
here a long stay, it being frequently visited by pre-  
datory expeditions. We therefore thought it pru-  
dent to start again in the afternoon along the western  
road, by way of Síggedim, which has been laid down  
very erroneously by the former expedition, they pro-  
bably not having taken the accurate distances and  
directions of this route, as they relied upon the direct  
track, which they had traced with accuracy. This  
road is called "Nefása seghíra," from a defile, or  
"thniye," which we crossed about two miles and a half

Tuesday,  
June 18th.

from our starting-point. About ten miles beyond we encamped, and reached the next morning, after a march of ten miles more, over a beautiful gravelly flat, and crossing the track of a small caravan of asses coming from Brábu, the beginning of the oasis of Síggedin, stretching out at the western foot of a considerable mountain group, the direction of which is from east to west, and well wooded with dúmpalms, date trees, and with gerredh, or *Mimosa Nilotica*. The ground, which is richly overgrown with sebót, in several places shows an incrustation of salt. We halted, for the mid-day hours, a little more than a mile further on, near the well, as we could not afford to make any long stay here. The place was at present quite deserted, but I was told that about a month later in the season people occasionally take up their temporary residence here, and a few isolated stone dwellings on a projecting cliff, testified to the occasional presence of settlers.

From hence we reached, in an afternoon's and a long morning's march, of altogether nearly thirty-four miles, the shallow vale of Jeháya (Denham's Izhya) or Yát. We were in a sad state, as, besides being exhausted by fatigue, we were almost totally blinded by the glare of the sand in the heat of the day. A smaller strip of vegetation on the west side of the rocky eminences which dotted this country, had already some time previously led us to hope that we had reached the end of our march; but when at length we had gained the spot, we found the vale, with its

rich growth of herbage, very refreshing, and men as well as animals had an opportunity of recruiting their strength a little.

The horse which the Sheikh had given me being quite lame, I wanted to mount the only one of the camels which seemed strong enough to carry such a burden in addition to its load, but it refused to rise with me, and I was thus obliged to mount the donkey-like nag which the sultan of Sôkoto had given me, my servant going on foot. It is certainly very difficult to carry horses through this frightful desert with limited means, but it is of the utmost importance for a small party to have a horse or two with them, in order to scour the country to see whether all be right, and to make a spirited attack or to pursue the robbers in case of a theft having been committed.

Having advanced in the course of the evening a little more than eighteen miles, we traversed early the next morning a narrow defile enclosed between rocky heights on both sides, in a very stony tract of country, and halted, after a march of about twelve miles, at a little distance from the mountain group Tíggera-n-dúmma, where the boundary is formed between Fezzán and the independent Tebu country, by a valley clothed with a good profusion of herbage and a few talha trees just in flower. From here we reached, after a march of sixteen miles more, the well of Máfaras, the southernmost well of Fezzán, in such a state of exhaustion, that we felt induced, notwith-

standing the danger from the E'fadaye, to allow ourselves and the animals a day and a half's repose, I myself being particularly in want of a little rest, as I had been suffering a great deal from rheumatism for the last few days. In addition to this the well contained so little water that it required an enormous time to water the animals and to fill our skins. The vale was pleasantly adorned with a good number of fine talha trees, and there was even one isolated dâmpalm, while of another one nothing but the trunk was remaining. Although we had advanced so much towards the north, we did not yet feel the slightest decrease in the temperature, and the thermometer all this time, at two o'clock in the afternoon, constantly indicated 109°.

This is the southern well of the name of Máfaras, while the northern spot of the same name, where Mr. Vogel made his astronomical observation, is about nineteen miles further to the north. We did not pass the latter till early in the morning of the 26th, when, stretching over an open desert flat, a real mirror or "meraye," the exhaustion of our animals became fully apparent, so that just in the very place where a small Tebu caravan, which had preceded us a few days, had left behind one of their camels, we also were obliged to abandon the camel upon whose strength we had hitherto placed our chief reliance.

About eleven miles beyond the northern well Máfaras, we halted during the heat of the day

in a spot entirely destitute of herbage, and made another stretch of fifteen miles in the afternoon, leaving the well-known mound of Fája, along which the road leads to Tibésti, at some distance on our right. In order to recruit the strength of the camels, we gave them a good supper of dates, ground nuts, and millet, so that each of the poor animals, according to his habits and national taste, could pick out what was most palatable to him.

A march of about thirteen miles brought us to the well "El A'hmar," or "Máddema," June 27th. in an open desert country, bounded on the west by a large imposing mountain group, and distinguished by a great profusion of kháreb, or kaye, the whole ground being overgrown with "handal," or colocynth, and strewn with bones. Here we passed an excessively hot day, the thermometer indicating  $114^{\circ}$  at two o'clock in the afternoon in the best shade I could find, and  $105^{\circ}$  at sunset, it remaining extremely hot the whole night, till after midnight, when a heavy gale arose. Nature here showed some animation, and beetles were in extraordinary numbers; we also beheld here a herd of gazelles, but no beast of prey.

At a very early hour the following morning, we started with a good supply of water, and after proceeding for about ten miles, reached a valley tolerably well provided with talha-trees, and overgrown with dry herbage. We were obliged to stay here the whole day, in order to give the camels a feed, as they were reduced to the greatest extremity: we had also



to provide ourselves with wood and water. But although we stayed here till the forenoon of the following day we had only proceeded a few miles when we lost another of our camels, and thus were obliged to halt earlier than we intended. In order to retrieve this loss, we started before midnight, and marching the whole night, a distance of about twenty-four miles, and making only a short halt during the hottest part of the day, we encamped in the evening of the 30th, close to the well "El Wár," or "Temmi," having entered the narrow-winding glen leading into the heart of the mountain-mass itself, although caravans in general encamp at its opening. We remained here the following morning, when I found shelter from the sun in the cave where the water collects, which is of a cool and pleasant character, a heavy gale which had sprung up the previous evening continuing all the while. But we had no time to tarry here, this being the worst and most fatiguing part of our journey. Taking all things into consideration there is no reason to wonder how Mr. Vogel made no observation during the whole of this journey, comprising a tract of three degrees and a half.

Having filled our water-skins, and watered the animals, we pursued our journey before noon, and made a stretch of about fifteen miles. Starting, then, again at midnight, and marching twenty miles, only halting about four hours at noon, we encamped at night, but halted only for a couple of hours, after which we

marched about fifteen miles, and again halted for the heat of the day. On this march we passed a very rugged passage, called "Thníye e' seghíra," where the rocks were rippled in a very remarkable manner, like the water. Having been accustomed to an intense degree of heat for some time, we felt it very cold this morning at sunrise, the thermometer indicating 68°, which was certainly a great difference, it having been 81° the preceding morning.

Again we started, a little after midnight, and having passed, early in the morning, with July 8rd. considerable difficulty and long delay, the rugged sandy passage called "Thníye el kebíra," we halted, after a march of eight hours and a half, having accomplished only a distance of about fifteen miles. I felt greatly exhausted, and I was the more sensible of fatigue, as I had a long march before me, the well being still distant; and after a most toilsome and wearisome stretch of more than eighteen miles, with numerous delays, and several difficult passages over the sandhills, we reached the well "Mésheru," which is notorious on account of the number of bones of the unfortunate slaves by which it is surrounded. The water of this well, which is five fathoms in depth, is generally considered of good quality, notwithstanding the remnant of human bones which are constantly driven into it by the gale; but at present it was rather dirty. The whole country around presents a very remarkable spectacle, especially the tract closely bordering on the well to the north,

and which, in a rather maliciously witty manner, has been called by the Arabs "Dendal Ghaladina" (the Promenade of the Minister"). It would form a good study for a painter experienced in water colours, although it would be impossible to express the features in a pencil sketch.

But not even here were we enabled to grant ourselves the slightest repose, only staying long enough to take in a sufficient supply of water, and to slaughter one of our camels, which was totally unfit to proceed. Having made this day about eighteen miles, we reached the following day, after a moderate march of from nineteen to twenty miles, the southernmost solitary date-grove of Fezzán. Here we were so fortunate as to meet a small caravan of Tebu, comprising a few very respectable men, who brought us the latest news from Murzuk, where I was glad to hear that Mr. Frederick Warrington, the gentleman who had so kindly escorted me out of Tripoli more than five years previously, was awaiting me, and that the very governor who had been appointed to the government of Fezzán during our first stay there, had a few days before again been reinstalled in that office.

July 6th. This was an important day in my journey, as having performed the most dangerous part of this wearisome desert march, I reached Tegérri, or Tejérri, the first outlying inhabited place of Fezzán. The village, although very small in itself, with its towering walls, the view of which burst suddenly upon

us through the date-grove, made a most pleasing impression, and I could not prevent my people from expressing their delight in having successfully accomplished the by no means contemptible feat, of traversing this desert tract with so small a band, by firing a good number of shots. In consequence of this demonstration, the whole population of the little town came out to salute and congratulate me on having traversed this infested desert tract without any accident. But that was the only advantage that we reaped from having reached a place of settled habitation; and having taken up our encampment on the north-western side of the kasr, among the date trees, we had the greatest difficulty in procuring even the slightest luxury, and I was glad when I was at length able to obtain a single fowl and a few measures of dates. There was therefore no possibility of our staying here and allowing the animals a little rest, but we were obliged to push on without delay to the village of Madrúsa. But I had the greatest difficulty in reaching that place in the evening of the 8th, having lost another camel and one of my horses; and of the animals which remained to me I was obliged to abandon in Madrúsa another, which I had to pay for the hire of a couple of camels to carry my luggage to Múrzuk.

This was the native place of my servant El Gatróni, who had served me for nearly five years, (with the exception of a year's leave of absence, which I granted

him in order to see his wife and children,) with the strictest fidelity, while his conduct had proved almost irreproachable; and of course he was delighted to see his family again. Besides a good breakfast and a couple of fowls with which he treated me, he made me also a present of a bunch of grapes, which caused me no little delight as a most unusual treat. However, being anxious to get over this desert tract, I started a little after noon the same day, and met at the village of Bakhíl, about six miles beyond, a Tebu caravan, which was accompanied by a courier from Kúkawa, who had found an excuse in the state of the country to remain absent on his mission to Múrzuk nine months, instead of having retraced his steps directly to his own country. About four miles further on we reached Gatrón, consisting of narrow groups lying closely together, and by the fringe of its date grove contrasting very prettily with the sandy waste around.

Here also we were hospitably treated by the relatives of another servant, who was glad to have reached his home; and we encamped the following day at Dekír, where we had some trouble first in finding and then in digging out the well, which was entirely filled up with sand. In two very long days' stretches from here, the first including a night's march, we reached the well, two miles and a half on this side of the village Bedán, when we heard that Mr. Warrington was encamped five miles beyond, in the village of Yesé.

Having got ready at an early hour, we proceeded cheerfully through the poor plantations scattered thinly over a soil deeply impregnated with salt, and fired a few shots on approaching the comfortable tent of my friend. I could not but feel deeply affected when, after so long an absence, I again found myself in friendly hands, and within the reach of European comforts. Having moved on a little in the afternoon to a more pleasant spot, we entered Múrzuk the following morning, and were most honourably received by a great many of the inhabitants, including an officer of the Bashá, who had come out a great distance to meet us.

Thus I had again reached this place, where, under ordinary circumstances, all dangers and difficulties might be supposed to have ceased. But such was not the case at the present time; for, in consequence of the oppression of the Turkish government, a very serious revolution had broken out among the more independent tribes of the regency of Tripoli extending from the Jebel over the whole of Ghurián, and spreading farther and farther, cutting off all intercourse and making my retreat very difficult. The instigator of this revolution was a chief of the name of Ghóma, who, having been made prisoner by the Turks many years before, had, through the events of the Crimean war, contrived to make his escape from confinement in Trebizond. This unforeseen circumstance caused me a little longer

delay in Múrzuk than I should otherwise have allowed myself, as I was most anxious to proceed on my journey; nevertheless I staid only six days.

Having some preparations to make for this last stage of my march, I had thus full opportunity of becoming aware of the immense difference in the prices of provisions between this outlying oasis of North Africa and Negroland, especially Kúkawa, and for the little supply which I wanted for my journey from here to Tripoli, I had to pay as much as 100 makhbúbs. Besides procuring here my necessary supplies for the road, my chief business was in discharging some of my servants, and more particularly Mohammed el Gatróni, whose fidelity I have mentioned before. I added to the small remainder of his salary which I still owed him, the stipulated present of fifty Spanish dollars, which I would willingly have doubled if I had had the means, as he well deserved it; for it is only with the most straightforward conduct and with a generous reward that a European traveller will be able to make his way in these regions.

As for encountering the dangers of the road, the arrangement of the Bashá, that a party of soldiers whom he had discharged, and who were returning home, should travel in my company, seemed rather of doubtful effect; as such a company, while it afforded a little more security in certain tracts, could not fail to turn against myself the disposition of the native population in those districts where the revolt

against the Turkish government was a popular movement; I was obliged therefore to leave it to circumstances to decide how I should make my way out of these difficulties. The Bashá for some time thought that the only safe course for me to pursue would be to turn my steps towards Ben-Gházi, in order to avoid the revolted district altogether. But such a plan seemed very objectionable, as well on account of the greater distance and expense of this road, as with regard to the disposition of the Arabs of that region, who, if the revolution should prove successful, would certainly not lose a moment in following the example of their brethren.

I left the town of Múrzuk in the afternoon and encamped in the plantation, and the next day moved on a short distance towards Sheggwa, where Mr. Warrington took leave of me. Halting then for the greater part of the following day near the village of Delém, and making a good stretch in the evening and the early part of the morning, we reached Ghodwa, with its pretty plantation and its many remains of former well-being. Starting again in the afternoon, and making a long stretch during the night, we encamped in the evening of the following day at the border of the plantation of Sebha, some twenty years ago the residence of the chief of the Welád Slímán. Here we staid the following day in order to obtain some rest. The heat all this time was very considerable, and the thermometer at two o'clock in the afternoon, on an average, indicated from 110° to 112°. July 20th.



brought us from Sebha to the small town of Temahint, and we encamped a little beyond the well where a numerous herd of camels, belonging to a camp of Arabs, was being watered. I was greatly pestered during my halt by a number of Welad Silihan, who were anxious for information with regard to their relations in Kánem, and greedy for some presents.

Making a short halt in the evening, and starting a little after midnight, we encamped the following day near Zighen. Here I had to hire fresh camels in order to pursue my journey, and therefore did not set out again till the afternoon of the following day when, through the barren desert tract by O'm el ábid and by a very rugged mountainous passage, we reached the important town of Sókna in the morning of the 2nd August.

Here the difficulties of my journey, in consequence of the revolutionary state of the province, increased, and, after a long consultation with some friends to whom I had been recommended, the only possible way of proceeding was found to be that of leaving the usual track by way of Bónjem altogether, and taking an entirely different road by a series of valleys lying further west, the road by Ben-Gházi also having been found impracticable. Sókna, even at the present time, is a very interesting place, as well on account of its mercantile activity and of its fine plantations of date and other fruit trees, as owing to the peculiar character of its inhabitants, who still retain a distinct

idiom of the Berber language\* ; but at the present moment, on account of the total interruption of the communication with the coast, the price of provisions was very high, and the natives scarcely knew what political course to pursue. There was especially a merchant of the name of Beshála, who showed me an extraordinary degree of kindness and attention.

Having therefore waited until the arrival of the "rekás," or courier, in order to obtain the most recent news, and having in consequence of their unfavourable tenor been induced to increase the wages of my camel drivers, whom I had hired previously, I at length got off on the 12th of August. Pursuing the track called Trík el Merhóma, which was never before traversed by a European, and, passing by the wells El Hammám, El Maráti, Ershidiye, and Gedafiye, and then by the narrow Wádí Ghirza (the place once the great object of African research for Lieutenant now Admiral Smyth), with its interesting ancient sepulchres in the form of obelisks, we reached Wádí Zemzem on the 19th. Here there was a considerable encampment of Arabs, and some of the ringleaders of the revolution residing here at the time, I found myself in a serious dilemma. But the English were too much respected by these tribes for them to oppose my passage, although they told me plainly, that if they suspected that the English were opposed to the revolution, they would cut my throat, as well as that

\* Also in El Fok-ha, distant three days from Sókna, on the road to Ben-Ghází, the same idiom is spoken.

of any European traveller who might fall into their hands. However, after some quiet explanations with them as to what was most conducive to their own interests, and about the probability of their succeeding in making themselves independent of the Turkish sway; and after having promised a handsome present to one of the more influential men among them, they allowed me to pass on. I had also great difficulty in hiring some fresh camels, the safety of which I guaranteed, to take me to Tripoli. I thus pursued my journey to Bení-Ulíd with its deep valley overtopped by the ruins of many a middle-age castle, and adorned by numbers of beautiful olive trees, besides being enlivened by many small villages consisting of stone dwellings half in decay. On approaching the place, I fell in with a messenger, sent very kindly to meet me by Mr. Reade, Her Majesty's Vice-Consul in Tripoli, who, besides a few letters, brought me what was most gratifying to me in my exhausted state, a bottle of wine, a luxury of which I had been deprived for so many years.

I had some little trouble in this place, as there was residing here at the time a brother of Ghóma, the rebel chief himself, who had sent an express messenger on my account; and differences of interest between the various chiefs of the place, caused me at the same time some difficulties, though, in other respects, they facilitated my proceedings. Altogether I was very glad when I had left this turbulent little community behind me, which appeared to be the last difficulty that opposed itself to my return home.

In the evening of the fourth day after leaving Bení-Ulíd, I reached the little oasis of 'Aín Zára, the same place where I had stayed several days preparatory to my setting out on my long African wanderings, and was here most kindly received by Mr. Reade, who had come out of the town with his tent, and provided with sundry articles of European comfort, to receive me again at the threshold of civilization.

Having spent a cheerful evening in his company, I set out the following morning on my last march on the African soil, in order to enter the town of Tripoli, and although the impression made upon my mind by the rich vegetation of the gardens which surround the town, after the long journey through the desert waste, was very great, yet infinitely greater was the effect produced upon me by the wide expanse of the sea, which, in the bright sunshine of this intermediate zone, spread out with a tint of the darkest blue. I felt so grateful to Providence for having again reached in safety the border of this Mediterranean basin, the cradle of European civilization, which from an early period had formed the object of my earnest longings and most serious course of studies, that I would fain have alighted from my horse on the sea beach, to offer up a prayer of thanksgiving to the Almighty, who, with the most conspicuous mercy, had led me through the many dangers which surrounded my path, both from fanatical men and an unhealthy climate.

It was market day, and the open place intervening between the plantation of the Meshiah and the town was full of life and bustle. The soldiers who had recently arrived from Europe to quell the revolution, were drawn up on the beach in order to make an impression on the natives, and I observed a good many fine sturdy men among them. Amidst this busy scene, in the most dazzling sunshine, with the open sea and the ships on my right, I entered the snow-white walls of the town, and was most kindly received by all my former friends.

Having stayed four days in Tripoli, I embarked in a Turkish steamer which had brought the troops and was returning to Malta, and having made only a short stay in that island, I again embarked in a steamer for Marseilles, in order to reach England by the most direct route. Without making any stay in Paris, I arrived in London on the 6th September, and was most kindly received by Lord Palmerston as well as by Lord Clarendon, who took the greatest interest in the remarkable success which had accompanied my proceedings.

Thus I closed my long and exhausting career as an African explorer, of which these volumes endeavour to incorporate the results. Having previously gained a good deal of experience of African travelling during an extensive journey through Barbary, I had embarked on this undertaking as a volunteer, under the most unfavourable circumstances for myself. The scale and the means of the mission seemed to be ex-

tremely limited; and it was only in consequence of the success which accompanied our proceedings, that a wider extent was given to the range and objects of the expedition\*; and after its original leader had succumbed in his arduous task, instead of giving way to despair, I had continued in my career amid great embarrassment, carrying on the exploration of extensive regions almost without any means. And when the leadership of the mission, in consequence of the confidence of Her Majesty's government, was intrusted to me, and I had been deprived of the only European companion who remained with me, I resolved upon undertaking, with a very limited supply of means, a journey to the far west, in order to endeavour to reach Timbúktu, and to explore that part of the Niger which, through the untimely fate of Mungo Park, had remained unknown to the scientific world. In this enterprise I succeeded to my utmost expectation, and not only made known the whole of that vast region, which even to the Arab merchants in general had remained more unknown than any other part of Africa†, but I succeeded also

\* This greater success was especially due to the journey which I undertook to the Sultan of A'gades, thus restoring confidence in our little band which had been entirely shaken by great reverses.

† "It appears singular that the country immediately to the eastward of Timbuctoo, as far as Kashna, should be more imperfectly known to the Moorish traders, than the rest of Central Africa." — *Quarterly Review*, May, 1820, p. 234. Compare what Clapperton says about the dangers of the road from Sókoto to Timbúktu. *Sec. Exped.*, p. 235.

in establishing friendly relations with all the most powerful chiefs along the river up to that mysterious city itself. The whole of this was achieved, including the payment of the debts left by the former expedition, and 200*l.*, which I contributed myself, with the sum of about 1600*l.* No doubt, even in the track which I myself pursued I have left a good deal for my successors in this career to improve upon; but I have the satisfaction to feel that I have opened to the view of the scientific public of Europe a most extensive tract of the secluded African world, and not only made it tolerably known, but rendered the opening of a regular intercourse between Europeans and those regions possible.

## A P P E N D I X.









## APPENDIX I.

### COLLECTION OF ITINERARIES ILLUSTRATING THE WESTERN HALF OF THE DESERT, ITS DISTRICTS, AND ITS INHABITANTS, AND THE COURSE OF THE UPPER NIGER.

*A.—Eastern Route from Tawút to Mabruk, and thence to  
Timbúktu.*

N.B.—The route proceeds from Aúlef in Tidíkelt, which is situated one short day from A'kabli (this is the right accent), and three days from I'nsala or 'Áin Sálah, the distance between A'kabli and the latter place being about the same.

2nd day. Teríshumín, a well.

4th. Derím.

7th. I'nzíze, a well. As far as this point, the route follows a course a little E. of S. (evidently in the direction of Gógó), but from this point onwards S.W.—The syllable "i'n," or "ín," seems to be the old Berber-Semitic form for "áin."

14th. I'ndenán, a well, having crossed the desert tract called Tanezrúfet.

17th. I'n-tabórak; the last stage is only half a day's march.

19th. Moila.

22nd. Taunant; the last stage is half a day's march.

24th. Mabruk.

The ordinary and general road from Mabruk to Timbúktu leads by A'rawán:—

2 days. Mámún.

2. Bú-Jebéha.

2. A'rawán.

4. Tenég el haye, or Tenég el háj.

1½. Timbúktu.

} I shall speak about these places in  
the general account of A'zawád.

Between Tenég el háj and the town there are the following localities:—El A'riye, El Ghába, El Meréra, A'tholet el Megl, E'llib el A'ghebe, Tiyáre el Jefál, Tiyáret el Wása.

Route from the hillet e' Sheikh el Mukhtár, generally called "el hilleh," (see the itinerary from Timbúktu to the hilleh, Vol. IV. p. 454) to Tósaye, in long days' marches; direction, as my informant supposes, exactly S.:—

1st day. Núr, a mountain without water.

2nd. A locality on this side of a place called Dergel.

3rd. Kazúft, a large pond of water in the rainy season.

5th. Tósaye, or Tósé, the great narrowing of the river, (see the journal).

From the hilleh to Gógó is reckoned a distance of eight days.

B.—*Route from I'nzize to Gógó.*

4th day. Tímmisau (hasi Músa? I think, it cannot be the well of that name on the direct road from Tawát to Mabruk, which would give this whole route a far more westerly direction). Near the well is a rocky eminence like a castle, and famous on account of the tale of the footprint of Moses' horse, a story also attaching to the other well which I mentioned. It appears, from this route, that the arid desert, the Tanezrúfet, becomes narrower and more contracted towards the east.

7th. I'n-azál; the last march but half a day.

9th. Súk, or "e' Súk" (Essúk), the ancient dwelling-place of the Kél e' Súk, now without settled inhabitants, situated between two "kódia," or hilly eminences, one lying towards the E. and the other towards the W., just as the ancient city of Tademékka is described, with which it was evidently identical (see the journal). The town was destroyed by the Songhay conqueror, Sonni 'Alí, in the latter half of the fifteenth century. The vale is said to be rich in trees.

11th. Gúnhan, another site of an ancient dwelling-place, and

once the residence of the Kel-gúnhan, with a hilly eminence.

13th. Takerénnat, another site.

14th. Tel-ákkevín (or Tin-ákkevín), a well.

16th. Tin-óker; the last stage half a day's march.

18th. Gógó, or Gággho, the last day again a short one.

*C.—Western Road from Aúlef to Mabruk.*

1st day. Dháhar el hamár, a hilly chain called the ass's backbone.

3rd. El Immerúghen.

5th. Wallen, a well.

12th. A'm-rannán, a well, two days W. from I'n-denán, having crossed the arid desert Tanezrúfet. In summer you travel here by night. In winter, travelling night and day, with only short halts, you may accomplish this march in four days.

17th. I'n-asserér, perhaps "the well of the stony tract," or hammáda, "serír," being the proper term for such a region.

20th. Tin-hekíkan, a well, in former times the common settlement of the tribe, which thence has received the name Kel-hekíkan. It is W. or S.W. of the well, called Taunant (see p. 457).

22nd. Mabruk; the last day's march a short one.

*D.—A few particulars with regard to the region called A'zawád, and the adjoining districts.*

The name A'zawád is a corruption due to the Arabs of the Berber name A'zawágh (pronounced A'zawár), which is common to many desert tracts. But the district which has become known to the Europeans under the name A'zawád, comprises an extensive tract of country to the N. of Timbúktu, stretching north-westward as far as "El Jéf," the great sink or "belly" of the desert, full of rock-salt, and to the N.N.E., a little to the N. of Mabruk, while its southern part, ex-

tending from the distance of one day's march from Timbúktu, to about three days northward, is more properly called *Tagánet*. I will only add, that Caillié mistook the name A'zawád, which he writes Zawát, for that of a tribe. (Vol. II. p. 97, and elsewhere.)

The tract of A'zawád, although appearing to us a most sterile tract of country, and thus characterized already by Arab travellers from the N., as E'bn Batúta and Leo Africanus, is a sort of paradise to the wandering Moorish Arab born in these climes. For in the more favoured localities of this district he finds plenty of food for his camels, and even for a few heads of cattle, while the transport of the salt of Taödénni to A'rawán and Timbúktu affords him the means of obtaining corn, and anything else he may be in want of. There are four small towns or villages in A'zawád, the most considerable of which is A'rawán, a town small in extent, such as described by Caillié\*, the number of its inhabitants scarcely exceeding 1500, but a very important place for this part of the world, and where a great deal of business is transacted, principally in gold, as I have described on a former occasion (p. 22 et seq.). On account of this trade, several Ghadámsíye merchants are established here. It is a fact which was unknown before, but which is indisputable, that the original inhabitants of this place, as well as of the whole of A'zawád, belong to the Songhay nation, the Songhay-kiní, even at the present day, being the favoured idiom of which all the inhabitants, including the Arab residents, make use. The present chief or headman of the town is Sídí Mohammed, a younger son of the notorious chief El Habíb Weled Sídí A'hmed Agáde, who died the year previous to my arrival in Timbúktu. The younger son gained the precedence over his elder brother O'ba, who has performed a

\* Caillié's Travels to Timbuctoo, vol. ii. p. 99, et seq. According to my information, A'rawán seems to lie from Timbúktu about 15° W. from N.

pilgrimage to Mekka, solely on account of his mother being the sister of Hámed Weled 'Abéda Weled Rehál, the chief of the Bérabísh, and the murderer of Major Laing. The family of El Habíb belongs to the I'gelád, forming at present a small section of the large group of the A'welímmiden. They are now only distinguished by their learning, but formerly they were very powerful, and, together with the Imedídderen, were the most ancient inhabitants of the locality of Timbúktu. The inhabitants of A'rawán pay an annual tribute of sixty mithkál of gold to the Hogár, in order not to be molested by their continual predatory incursions.

The three other small towns, or permanent dwelling-places in A'zawád, viz. Bú-Jebéha, Mámún and Mabrúk, all lying in a line N.N.E. from A'rawán, almost at the equal distance from each other of two days' easy travelling with camels, are much smaller and less considerable than A'rawán. Of rather more importance at present than the two others is Bú-Jebéha, which is principally inhabited by Kél e' Súk, and has a little commerce; but Mabrúk seems to have been of great importance in former times, when it was inhabited by Songhay people, had a Songhay name,—Mabrúk being a comparatively modern name given to it by the Arabs,—and was the market of Waláta. In some respects this place might seem to have a right to be identified with the ancient Aúdaghast; and there are certainly the sites of some former dwelling-places in the neighbourhood, especially Tel-Aröúst, two days N.E. either from Mabrúk or from the hilleh, but in another place I have explained (Vol. IV. p. 581) why we have to seek the site of Aúdaghast in quite a different locality. There are some valleys clad with palm-trees to the east of Mabrúk (see Vol. I. Appendix, p. 570), especially the valley called Tesillíte, which produces two different kinds of dates, viz. the tísagín and the tin-áser. The names of the respective chiefs of the three places are—Mohammed Weled Sidi 'Omár, the chief of the tribe of the Ergágeda in Mámún; Najíb Weled el Mústapha el Kél e' Súki (the same who signed the letter of A'wáb, the chief



of the Tademékket, giving a complete imána to the English in the territory comprised between Gúndam, Bamba, Timbúktu, A'rawán, and Bú-Jebéha), together with 'Azízi in Bú-Jebéha, and Méni Weled Sídi 'Omár in Mabruk.\*

There was formerly, in A'zawád, another place with a permanent settlement, called "El Hilleh," or "Hillet e' Sheikh Sídi Mukhtár," which I have mentioned in a former place (Vol. I. p. 560, and Vol. IV. p. 454), two days east of Mámún†, and about the same distance from Mabruk, but this place was deserted a few years ago, on account of the well Bú-Lanwár, which is stated to have had a depth of forty fathoms, having fallen to ruins. The hilleh was situated in the "batn," or valley, at the northern foot of a black rocky chain of hills called "Ellib el Hejar." To the north is another chain or ellib east of the hilleh; but, on this side, still in the batn, is a locality called "El Mádhher," with good pasturage for horses. Other well known localities thereabouts are, Shirshe el Kebíra, and Shirshe e' Seghíra.

Of the wells of A'zawád, the following are the most notorious: first, in the southern part of the district, towards Tagánet, Mámún, different from the place of the same name; E'nnéfis, a copious well, two hours S.W. from Mámún, and situated in a hilly district, thickly clad with underwood, and containing quarries of a beautiful black limestone, from which the Tawárek manufacture their heavy arm-rings, or áshebe; Meréta, Makhmúd, Shíker, Gír, Kartál, a very copious well, 'En-filfil, and others. Further to the N. and N.W. are the wells, Halúl, El Hóde, Shébi, Temandórit, Tékarát, Aníshay, A'shorát, a well where the Sheikh A'hmed el Bakáy, in the early part of his life, resided for a long time, A'nnazau, to the north of Mabruk; Alibáda ('Alí Bába?), Bú el Meháne, or

\* No merchant from the north can pass Bú-Jebéha, and certainly not A'rawán, unless he be escorted by some well-known person belonging to the tribe of the Tademékket.

† The position which I have assigned to these places in the map which I sent home from Timbúktu, is slightly erroneous.

Bel Mehán, the well mentioned in the itinerary (Vol. IV. p. 454), as distant about ten miles from the hilleh, Belbót, south of Bel Mehán; Írakshíwen; Merzáhe, south of the latter; Megágelát, two days south of the hilleh, and others.

The most famous wells in the district called Tagánet, are—Wén-alshín, situated at the distance of four days from Timbúktu, and three from the hilleh, where Mohammed e' Seghír, El Bakáy's elder brother, usually encamps part of the year; Tin-tatís, half a day S.W. from the former; 'En-óshif, I'mmilásh, 'En-gíbe, 'En-séek, 'En-odéke, a well where Bába, a younger brother of El Bakáy, has his encampment, three days south from Mámún, four days N.E. from Timbúktu; A'menshór, A'rrazaf, 'Arúk, El Makhmúd, different from the well of the same name mentioned above; Igárre, Mérizík, Twíl, Waruzíl.

Towards the north, the district of A'zawád is separated from the dreary and waterless desert known by the general Berber name of Tanezrúfet (meaning "arid hammáda") by the two small districts called "*Afeléle*" (meaning the little desert, or "aféle"), and north of it A'herér. Afeléle is a highly favoured region for the breeding of camels, and contains some famous valleys, or "wádián," such as Tekhatímit, or Teshatímit, Afúd-énakán or Afúd-n-akán, Tadulílit, 'Abatól, Shánisín, Agár, and others. A'herér, likewise, is considered by the Arabs as a fine country diversified by hill and dale, with plenty of wells, and even temporary torrents. This is the district, in one of the valleys of which, "Wadí A'herér," Major Laing was attacked and almost killed by the Tawárek.

Towards the east, the districts of A'zawád and Tagánet are limited by several smaller ones, where the Arab population is greatly mixed with the Berber or Tawárek element, especially the I'foghas. At the same time, these districts separate A'zawád from A'derár, the fine hilly country of the Awelímmiden, which is excellent not only for the breed of camels, but also for that of cattle. These intermediate dis-

tricts are — *I'm-eggelála*, a district of about two days' extent in every direction, consisting of black soil, and furnished with shallow wells; E. and E.N.E. of Tagánet, is *Tilímsi*, a district rich in food for the camel; E.N.E. of the hillet e' Sheikh el Mukhtár, is another district called *Timitrén*, with many wells and a few villages; and E.N.E. of the latter, the district called *Tirésht*, or *Tighésht*, bordering on A'derár.

Of Arab tribes in A'zawád and the adjoining districts, I have first to mention several sections of the great tribe of the *Kunta*, who are distinguished by their purer blood and by their learning above almost all the tribes of the desert.

The *Kunta* are divided into the following sections: —

The *Ergágeda*, who were formerly regarded as the *Welaye*, or the holy tribe.

The *Welád el Wáfi*, at present the *Welaye*, with the Sheikh A'hmed el Bakáy as *Welí*, while his elder brother, Sídi Mohammed, exercises great authority over the whole of A'zawád. The *Welád el Wáfi* cultivate the friendship of the *Hogár*, while the *Welád Sídi Mukhtár* are the deadly enemies of the latter. They are subdivided into three divisions, called —

El *Mesádhefa*, *Welád ben Haiballa*, and *Welád ben 'Abd e' Rahmán*.

The *Welád Sídi Mukhtár*.

El *Hemmál*.

The *Togát* also are said to belong to the *Kunta*.

The *Berabísh* (singl. *Berbúshi*), a tribe less numerous than the *Kunta*, mustering about 260 men armed with muskets, and 180 horsemen, and not spread over so wide a tract, being concentrated in the district between A'rawán and Bú-Jebéha. They pay a tribute of 40 mithkál of gold to the *Hogár*, and are molested by continual incursions of the *Welád 'Alúsh*. The *Berabísh*, who probably are identical with the *Perorsi* of the ancient geographers, have migrated southwards since that time, and are of very mixed blood. They lived formerly in El Hódh, and are mentioned by Marmol Carvajal, who wrote in the seventeenth century, as visiting the

market of Bégo; in the beginning of the sixteenth century, they lived still further to the W., and visited especially the market of Jinni.\* The Berabish are divided into two groups, the principal of which is ruled by the chief Hamed Weled 'Abéda Weled Rehál, and consists of the following sections:

The Welád Skímán, the Shiúkh, that is to say, the tribe to whom the Sheikh belongs, and who have based their power and wealth upon the ruin and spoil of the Welád Ghánem.

The Welád 'Esh.

The Welád Bú-Hinde.

El Gwanín el kohol.

El Gwanín el bédh.

Welád A'hmed.

These are the free tribes of this group; the following are the degraded and servile tribes, the "lahme" or "khoddemán":—the Yadás, the Ládím, or rather only a small portion of that tribe, the A'rákán, the A'hel 'Aísa Tajáwa, El U'ssera.

The second group of the Berabish as a whole, bears the remarkable name of "Botn el jemel," on account of its being composed of heterogeneous elements, brought together by chance, just as is the case with various kinds of food in the "stomach of the camel." It is ruled by a chief of the name of Hamma, and consists of the following tribes:—Welád Relán; Welád Derís, originating from Tafilélet; Welád Bú-Khasíb; Welád Ghánem, and the Turmus, the latter being the tribe of which I have spoken on a former occasion.

E.—*Route from Bône or from Hómbori, by way of Konna, to Hamda-Alláhi.*

Dalla the chief place of the province of the same name, is of considerable size, and the residence of a governor. Módi Bóle,

\* De Barros, I. iii. c. viii. p. 220, Genná.—"Concorriam a ella os povos que lhe sao mais vizinhos: assi com os Caragolees, Fullos, Jalofos, Azaneges, *Brabaxijs*, *Tigurarijs*, *Luddayas*." See the chronological tables at the end of the preceding vol., p. 604.

who was a man of some note, died a short time before the period of my journey. The place is mostly inhabited by Tombo, only a small portion of the inhabitants being Songhay. The mountains are inhabited by the Sána, probably a section of the Tombo who have still preserved their independence. The town of Dalla is two good days' journey from Hómbori, and one from Bóne.

1 day. Dwentsa, a considerable place, said to be as large as Kúkawa, and important as a market-place. The road traverses a mountainous region, described as being supplied with running streams (in the rainy season?), and to be richly clad with trees.

1 day. Dúmbará, large place, seat of a governor, but destitute of any handicraft. Country mountainous.

1 day. Nyimi-nyába, a middle-sized place. Country a little mountainous.

1 day. Boré, a large town, seat of a governor. Country mountainous, intersected by channels for irrigating the kitchen gardens. Cotton, rice, and corn is cultivated. All these appear to be very long days' marches.

2 days. Timme, a large town, seat of a governor. On the road you see the Dhiúlíba, or rather its floods, on your right, at least during part of the year. Cultivation of rice exclusively.

2 days. Karí or Konna (as the Songhay call it), seat of a governor, and important as a market-place. All the black inhabitants of the town speak the Songhay language. The town is also called Benne-n-dúgu or Bana-n-dugu, the tribe of that name, the Benni, having probably extended much farther to the N. in former times. See Caillié ii. p. 16.

2 days. Niakóngo, seat of a governor of the name of Háj Módi, brother of Háj 'Omár. After the rainy season, the floods of the river closely approach the town.

1 day. Hamda-Alláhi.

F.—*From Timbúktu by Gúndam to Yówaru, and from Yówaru to Hamda-Alláhi.*

3rd day. Gúndam. There are no settled halting places between Timbúktu and Gúndam. People generally perform the distance in two days and a half. The following is a list of the names of localities between these two places:—Téshak, Finderiye, El Hándema, Aristoremék, Egéti, Tin-getán, Tin-réro, Timbarágeri, two villages of the name El Meshra, Takémbaut, Tenkeriye, Naudis, Gámmatór. — Gúndam is a walled town (ksar or koira), the chief place of the district Aússa, and of considerable size, its population consisting of Songhay, Rumá, and Fúlbe or Fullán. The town has a suburb on its W. side, where live the Tóki, a tribe of the Fullán, and another suburb on the water-side, where live the Erbébi. On the N. side there is a black hill, full of fernán. Also to the S. an eminence is seen presenting the same appearance. The town is situated on the N. side of a large khálíj or ríj (branch of the river) coming from Dire and turning towards Rás el má, the celebrated “head of the waters,” distant from here two days, either by land or by water, W. a little N. Another creek runs from Gúndam to Kábara; but during the highest level of the inundation the whole country presents almost one uninterrupted sheet of water. On the east side of Gúndam is a dry creek called Aráshaf, one day long, and half an hour wide. At its eastern border, E.S.E. from Gúndam, is the place called Waye e' semen, with a creek adorned with the tree called táderes.

4th. A walled village (koira) of Imóshagh and Songhay on the trunk of the river, having passed in the morning the branch on which Gúndam is situated.

- 5th. Arabébe, a village inhabited by Fúlbe.
- 6th. Nyafúnke, a large village, inhabited in former times by Imóshagh, but at present peopled by Fúlbe.
- 7th. I'ketáwen. Having passed in the morning close behind Nyafúnke, a large branch of the river, halt at noon in a village called Sherífkoira.
- 8th. A'tará, a large village of Fúlbe, on the east side of a considerable branch of the river going to Gasí Gúmo.
- 9th. Fadhl-Alláhi a Fúlbe village.
- 10th. Yówaru. Yówaru is one of the two chief places of Fermágha, and although consisting entirely of reed huts, is said to be little inferior in the number of its inhabitants to the town of Timbúktu. The importance of the place is clear enough from the annual amount of tribute which it pays, amounting altogether (zeká and modhár taken together) to 4000 head of cattle. During the inundation Yówaru lies at the border of lake Débu, which, at that season, extends from Sà to Yówaru, but during the dry season, it is about one mile distant from the small branch. Close to the latter lies a suburb where the Surk or Kórongoy, a degraded section of the Songhay, dwell.\* In Yówaru and the neighbourhood live a great number of Fúlbe or Fullán belonging to the following tribes:—the Sonnábe, Yalálbe, Feroibe, Yówarunkóbe and Jawámbe, or Zoghorán or Zoromáwa.

G.—*From Yówaru to Tenéngu.*

- 1st day. Urungíye, an important place.
- 2nd. Máyo, a village so called from a small creek, the Máyo Sórroba, on which it lies. Between Urungíye and

\* I have not been able to make even a short vocabulary of the idiom of these people. I only succeeded in making out two terms which they use, "úmbay" ("how are you?") and "éna" ("welcome").

Máyo seem to lie the villages Séri and Nyamihára, the former inhabited by Songhay, the latter by Fúlbe.

3rd. Ganga.

4th. Kógi or Jógi, having passed several hamlets, one of them called Gínnewó, a hamlet of cattle breeders with a ksar, then Dokó, Ngúdderi, Jónéri, Sabáre, and Burlul.

5th. Kora.

6th. Konna.

7th. Tenéngu. The distance between Urungíye and Tenéngu can, however, be performed in two days good travelling.

Between Urungíye and Móbti lie the following places:—U'ro-Módi, Káram, a Songhay village; Rogónte, a hamlet of Fúlbe, Yerére, a hamlet inhabited by slaves of the Fúlbe, Wúlo on the Máyo Fenga; Kaya, a village inhabited by Aswáneke, and finally, Sáre-méle and Sáre-béle, the river probably forming a great bend near Wónyaka, so that these latter towns are touched at in coming from both sides, either the N. or the S.

#### H. — *From Yówaru to Hamda-Alláhi.*

1st day. Dógo, on a small creek.

2nd. Shay, probably meaning the place of embarkation, on the N.W. side of the river, which is very wide in this spot. Pass on the road one or two branches of stagnant water, which you must cross in a boat. Perhaps one of these branches is the same on which the village Máyo lies.

3rd. Encamp on the bank of a smaller creek (Máyo dhannó?)

4th. Niakóngo.

5th. Berber, a very short march.

6th. Síye, in the morning.

7th. Hamda-Alláhi, the capital of the kingdom of Másina.



I. — *List of towns and villages situated along the bank of the chief trunk of the river I sa-bére or Máyo-mangho, from Dire upwards to Sansúndi. This branch is the north-westerly one ; the other, which Caillié navigated, is the south-easterly, and is called Bara-I sa.*

*Dire*, a very important place, one of the eldest settlements of the Songhay in this quarter, situated at the point of junction of two branches which have separated from each other in the lake Débu.\*

Tindírma, one of the original seats of the Songhay, by some regarded as the original seat of the whole tribe. That portion of them called Súhena were especially settled here. It is now principally the residence of the Chóki, who formerly were settled in Gúndam. With regard to its importance in former times as the capital of the province of Kúrmina, see Vol. IV. p. 420. A little distance from the bank of the river lies Gitigátta, and on the island in the river the locality called "Al Mohalla," probably from having been once the spot where part of the Mohalla, or the army of the Moroccains, remained encamped. At Tindírma, the branch of Gúndam separates from the main trunk of the river.

Hamma-koira.

Nyafúnke.

Síbo. This is evidently the town Seebi where Mungo Park is said to have made some stay on his voyage from Jenni to Timbúktu. (Clapperton's Second Journey, Appendix, p. 334.)

\* From Dire, down the river towards Timbúktu, my informant indicated several places which neither I myself nor Caillié have mentioned on our passage down the river : *Búram*, a large village (Kóra, Danga), Semsáro (Koiretágo), Lenga, all on the south side ; Segaliye, on the north side of the river ; an ádabay, or hamlet, belonging to Búram, E'luwa, on an island ; Hendibángo.

Dháhabi-koira, called after a sherif belonging to the family of Muláy el Dhéhebi.

Gúmmo.

A'tara.

Tongomáre.

U'ro.

Yówaru. In crossing from Yówaru the next branch, and leaving Gúram on one side, you reach Zinzo or Jinjo, or Gíjo, as it is called, in four or five hours. This is another of the eldest seats of the Songhay, and probably the place from whence Islám spread in this quarter, there being here the sepulchre of a venerated saint called Mohammed el Káberi, belonging to the Idaw el Háj. It is not impossible that this is the place of pilgrimage to which Scott the sailor went as a captive by way of the Gíblah, crossing the lake.\* In the neighbouring hamlet, Togga, also, is the tomb of a holy man called Morimána Báka. There is another tradition current in Zinzo, of a saint of the name of Elfa Zakkariyá, who is said to have visited this place at a time when no village existed, nothing but a cavern being then inhabited.

S.E. of Zinzo, at some little distance from lake Débu lies A'wi. The Débu is so shallow during the dry season, that the native boats can only proceed with great difficulty along the main channel, and often stick fast entirely. In the dry season the natives ford it by wading through the water.

\* Edinburgh Philological Journal, vol. iv. p. 35, et seq. There is no such district hereabouts as "El Sharray;" but I have not the slightest doubt that this name is nothing but a corruption of the term "e' sherk," with which the Moors of that region indicate the south. There are some inaccuracies in Scott's account which might cause suspicion of his sincerity; and among these is the circumstance, that he mentions as living on the lake the Moorish tribes of the E'rgbát and Sekarna, both of which live in the northern districts. But it is very remarkable that he should call that tomb by the name of "Saídna Mohammed."

Where the main branch, called by the Fúlbe Máyo balléo, reaches the lake, at least during the rainy season, it divides into a net of smaller branches, thus increasing the difficulty of the navigation. On the contrary, the advantage of the smaller branch, the Bara-I'sa, or river of Bara, called by the Fúlbe Máyo dhannéo, consists in preserving one unbroken volume of water. This was the reason probably why the party with whom Caillié went down the Niger from Jinni followed this branch. Besides the Máyo balléo and dhannéo, the chief creeks which join the Débu are the Máyo Píru and the Máyo Jóga, not inconsiderable during the rainy season, but very small during the dry one.

The lake, besides fish, contains numbers of that curious animal called ayú (*manatus*).

From the lake upwards, there lie along the principal branch of the river the following places:—

Búri.

Bánghida.

Waládu.

Ingárruwe.

Mányata.

Kossanáanna.

Tánnare.

Bówa.

Kirrínkiri.

Gánde-Táma.

Sarbére.

Kára, an important \* place, after which the river is sometimes called "the river of Kára."

Ingánshi.

Dággada.

Kumáy, a place of some importance, distant two days from Yá-saláme \*, which is about three days from the con-

\* I here add a short itinerary from Y'owaru to Yá-saláme:—  
1st day. Hasi Jollúb, with a settlement of Zuwaye Sombúnne.

siderable market-place Tenéngu (p. 469), both W. from the river.

Júgi.

Nyásu.

Kóliñango.

Sabáre.

Búrruwé.

Fenga, a middle-sized place, after which this whole branch of the river is also called "Máyo Fenga," about two hours E. from Tenéngu, and one good day's march from Fáfarák.

We now proceed along the south-eastern shore of the Débu and along the Máyo dhannéo.

Gúram, a considerable place, situated round a large rocky eminence, kódia, as the Arabs call it, or "haire," as it is called by the Fúlbe, who celebrate it highly as the "haire maunde Gúram." The mount is so conspicuous in the flat alluvial level, that it is visible from Yówaru. Caillié saw it at the distance of three or four miles (ii. p. 18); and again, further on, where he calls it St. Charles' Island (ii. p. 20). The village is separated into three distinct groups, one of which is called Gúram Fúlbe, lying at the northern foot of the kódia; the other, Gúram Hábe, inhabited by Songhay; further on and finally, Gúram Súrube, inhabited by (degraded?) Tawárek or Surgu.

Méro

Bang

Sóba.

} Both inhabited by Kórongoy.

Sórroba, situated at the foot of another smaller rocky eminence called "haire Sórroba," lying opposite to Gúram on the S. side of the river, which seems to make here a great bend. It is mentioned by Mohammed el Másiini (Appendix to Clapperton's Second Journey, p. 331). Caillié gave it the ridiculous name of "Henry Island."

2nd. A well.

3rd. Yá-saláme, a place of about the same size as Yówaru, on a backwater at a considerable distance from the chief river. From Basikúnnu to Yá-saláme, four days.

Jantaye, a considerable place.

Máyo Tína, a place close to the former, inhabited by Tawárek.

Kébi. (Compare Caillie's account, ii. p. 16.)

Nye.

Batamáne.

Sáyo, distant half a day's journey from the Batamáne, towns close to the bank of the river becoming here more rare.

Wánaka, where the two branches unite, being joined besides by a small westerly creek, called by some Máyo Fenga.

Hombólbe, the principal seat of the Kórongoy or Surk, who also constitute the chief inhabitants of the places Ngárruwe and Toy.

Karashíru.

Kara-úra.

Neménte, and not far from it inland, the village called "rúgga Bóde."

Náta.

Kammi.

Móbti or Isáka, situated at the point of junction of the two branches of the river, which have divided at Jafarábe, a low point of land, as it seems, separated by the river into a group of six islands, where all the boats coming from Hamda-Alláhi and the lower river, and proceeding to Samsándi, are obliged to disembark their merchandise, which, henceforward has to be transported on the back of donkeys to the place of its destination. Of these two branches the north-western\* one bears also the name of Máyo Jágha,

\* On the south-eastern branch up to Jenni or Jenne (this is the Aswáneq form), or Zenne (Zinne as the Songhay call it), or Jinne (the Bámbara form), lie the following towns and villages:—Bólay, a ksar or koirá, Sildoy, Konne, Kóme, Isáka, or Móbti, Kúna, Sofára, Zinne.—Sofára, which lies halfway between Hamda-Alláhi

from a very important place, the celebrated Zágħa of the Arab geographers, which on account of its situation out of the great commercial track is at present not very generally known in those quarters. The original form of the name both with Songhay and Fúlbe, seems to be Jáka or Jágha; but the letters Z and J are continually interchanged. The town is said to lie at the distance of one and a half day S.W. from Sára-dína, "the city of the (Mohammedan) religion," and only half a day N.E. from Jafarábe\*, and is still celebrated on account of its excellent "tári" or "leppi."

I here add a short list of the towns and villages between Kúna, the place where the river is ordinarily crossed in proceeding from Sofá to the island of Másina Proper, and Móbti: — From Kúna, about six miles E., is Néma, situated on the E. side of the river; from Néma, Tikkétiá, on the W. side of the river; Sára-béle, on the E., Sára-méle, on the W. of the river, N. of Tikkétiá; Gómi, a large town on the bank of the river; Móbti, on the E. side, with large fortifications, if I have understood right, of an ancient date, where the two branches join; Nymitógo, on the E. side of the river.

The distance from Tenéngu, is also a day and a half, and between them lie the following places, beginning with Tenéngu: — Takanéne, Chúbe, a hamlet inhabited by slaves, Kumbel, Ingelléye, Taíkiri, Kóllima, and Warángha.

From Jafarábe upwards along the river, are situated the places: —

Kongunkoro, "old Kongu."

Kóno.

and Jenni or Zinne, has a market every Wednesday and Thursday. The eastern side of Sofúra is skirted by a small branch or creek of the Niger called Golónno, and on the eastern bank of the latter lies a village called Góñima.

\* These particulars I obtained after having finished my manuscript map in Timbúktu.

Jóru.

Síbila.

Maddina.

**Sansandi** (this is the Songhay form), or **Sansanne** (the Mandingo form), the well-known starting point of Mungo Park's voyage down the river. Mr. Cooley supposes that "di" is a contraction of ding, meaning "little."

**K.**—*From Hamda-Alláhi to Kábara by land by way of Sá.*

1 day. Niyakóngo, a large town at a considerable distance from the river; much cultivation.

1 day. Denéngu (?), a place inhabited by Fúlbe and Songhay, the latter being more numerous than the former; near the bank of the river.

1 day. U'ro-Búlo, a place inhabited by Fúlbe on the E. side of the Débu.

1 day. Sá, a large place, inhabited chiefly by Bámbara, the seat of a governor, as was also the case in former times, on the E. side of the Máyo dhannéo or Bara-I'sa. Many dúm-palms, or rather deléb-palms, grow in this neighbourhood, from whence Timbúktu is supplied with rafters. The floods of the lake and the various branches or creeks are so considerable during the rainy season, that at that period of the year, a person cannot reach Hamda-Alláhi in less than six days.

1 day. Kóma, a small town of Bámbara, at a considerable distance E. from the river.

1 day. Chiay, close to the bank of the Máyo dhannéo.

1 day. Sáre-feréng, a Bámbara place. The road leads all the way along the S.E. bank of the river.

1 day. Jangináre, a Bámbara place.

1 day. A'rkoja, a town partly inhabited by Bámbara, partly by Songhay, the former prevailing.

1 day. Dári, a large place of Fúlbe, who call it Dár e' Salám. No Bámbara inhabitants.

- 1 day. Bongesimba, a village inhabited by Fúlbe Sudúbe, close to the point of junction, called I'sofay, of the two branches of the Dhiúlíbe, the white (dhanáo) and the black (balléo), the quality of their waters being totally different, one being full of crocodiles, hippopotami, and fish, and the other containing nothing of the kind, just as is the case with the Nile. The water of the black river overwhirls the white water of the dhanáo. Cross the river.
- 1 day. Tindirna, a large Songhay place. A long day.
- 1 day. Dire, one of the eldest places of the Songhay.
- 1 day. Dongoy, inhabited by Songhay, no Fúlbe; on the E. side of the river.
- 1 day. Tóyai, a Songhay village; the Tademékket rove in this neighbourhood. Country level and without trees, being temporarily flooded.
- 2 days. Kábara, keeping close along the river, and crossing a small rivulet or creek.

\* L 1.—*From Hamda-Alláhi to Káñima.*

- 1st day. Síye.
- 2nd. Niyakóngo, having passed the heat in the hamlet called Berber.
- 3rd. Benne-ndúgu or Konna, having passed the heat in Námét-Alláhi (a long day's, if not two days', journey).
- 4th. Toy. Arrive before noon.
- 5th. A Songhay village or ksar.
- 6th. Kónsa, a Fúlbe village.
- 7th. A village inhabited by Fúlbe, Songhay, and Bámbara,
- 8th. Takóti.
- 9th. Sambejeráhit.
- 10th. Ungúma.
- 11th. Káñima, on a branch of the river coming from Bámbara (see Vol. IV. p. 361), and at a day's march from the latter place.



**L 2.—*Another short Itinerary from Káñima to Hamda-Alláhi.***

- 1st day. Lábo.
- 2nd. Dóra, a rúmde, or slave hamlet.
- 3rd. Takóti, or Jengináre, both on the Bara-I'sa, Jengináre lying a little to the S.W. of the former.
- 4th. Another town on the Niger, the name of which informant has forgotten, probably Sáre-feréng.
- 5th. Gulúmbu, on the widening of the creek Débu or Dóbu. (Another road leads from Káñima by Lábo, Langóma, Konse, and another place to Gulúmbu).
- 6th. Doy or Toy, a large Songhay place.
- 7th. Karri, Konna, or Benne-ndúgu, all names of the same place. On your way you pass Kori-ántsa, a large Púllo village.
- 8th. Nāmet-Alláhi, a town of the Feroibe.
- 9th. Fatóma, the market place (the market being held every Saturday) of Konári, not a large place.
- 10th. Hamda-Alláhi, a good day's march of ten hours.\*

**M.—*List of towns in Jimbálla, Zánkara, and Aússa.***

(A.) Towns in Jimbálla, the district S. of the river W. from the district Kíso : —

Ayún, Kúfa, Sáre-feréng (the town mentioned p. 470), probably the seat of government under the empire of Melle, Tési, A'rkoja, Hóre-ayé, Dangal, Bória, Ngorko or Goroñya, a considerable market place between Zánkara and San-koré, and distant one and a half day's journey S. from Dári, Kúle-songho, Guddunga. The following places lie in the central region of Jimbálla: — Tórobe, Gmoy, Gunki, Gúngare, I'chi al Hábe, Séri, Segúl, Bugo-linchére, Gnórija.

It is a very remarkable fact, that three places to which the origin of the Bámbara nation is referred, are said to be the oldest places in Jimbálla, viz. Kanembúgu, Jéngenabúgu, and Tsorobúgu.

The following are the tribes of the Fúlbe in Jimbállá: — Fittobe, Sangho, Uralifoná, Búsurá, Kaya, U'ro-Módi, Dugurábe, Tongábe in Séri, Zukkáre, Toródi (probably settled in the locality called Tórobe) Nar-hau, Yaffóli. There is besides a tribe of Fúlbe called Dóngó, mixed with Rumá, settled in four places of Jimbállá, viz. Kúrúm on the Máyo balléo, Sébi, Wáki and Gong. In Sébi, the place mentioned p. 470, resides a chief of the Rumá, who formerly commanded the whole communication along the river, and with whom therefore Park had some business to settle — this evidently being indicated by the words wrongly translated by Mr. Silame, "that they might cross the way of the river."

South of Jimbállá is the district Sákkeré, under the dominion of the Fúlbe, but chiefly inhabited by Zoghorán. Chief place Dóko, one day from Koisa, and not far from U'ro-Búlo.

(B.) Zánkara the district S. of the river, enclosed between the latter and the districts of Kíso and Jimbállá: —

Tomme, Chángará, Manjebúgo, A'njau, Jebár, Báko, Bánikan, Jú, Jú-kárimá, Wáki, Tondo, Jindigatta, Wabango, Kúgu, Bádi, Gom. The capital of this province is Dári, or Dár e' Salám, residence of the governor 'Abd-Alláhi, son of Sheikh A'hmed. S.E. from Dári is Gannáti, a considerable market-place.

(C.) In Aússa (the province north of the river between Timbúktu and Fermágha): —

Tomba, Mékore near Gúndam, Bankoriye, Jango, Akoire-n-éhe, Hammakoire, Kamba-dumba, Ungurúnne, Nyafúnche, Hardánia or Béllaga, Gnóro, Baba-danga, Báñaga, Tóndi-dáro, Gubbo, Dháhabi-koire, Síbo, Alwéli-koira, Gombo, Tommi, Gaudel, Kurbal, Kattáwen, Fadhl-illáhi, A'ttora, Núnu, Nyódogu, Gaude, another Mékore near Kurbal, Kábara-tanda, Duwé-kiré near Dongoy, Tásakál, Mánkalá-gungu between Dongoy and Kábara, Telfi, Koddissabári; Sobónne, I think, is not the name of a place but of a section of the Fúlbe settled here.

I also think this a fit place to insert some lists of towns lying along various routes traversing the territories of Fermágħa, the province to which Yówaru belongs, and Bergu, the province bordering on the former towards the S., although I cannot fully testify to the accuracy of the order in which the towns are mentioned. I will here also add, that this district Bergu, as it is called by some of the natives, the original form of the name being probably Marka, and of which Yá-saláme is the chief place, is a very flat country almost destitute of trees and producing no crops, but on account of its ample supply of water affording fine pasture grounds. Fermágħa, on the contrary, is a well timbered province. My informant is Dáúid, the brother of the Púllo chief Mohammed ben 'Abd-Alláhi, whom I have mentioned in my journal.

Between Yówaru and Yá-saláme, along the western road, are said to lie the following places, beginning with the former: Báughita, a village of learned men, or málleinín, Sáredína, Dógo, the place touched at in going from Yówaru to Niyakóngo, by way of Shay, Urúnde, Gogórla, Launyánde, Launérde, Meré-únuma, Urungíye (1st day) — (Urungíye in the dry season is at half a day's distance from the river; it is still reckoned by some as belonging to Músina); — Tanna, Kánguru, having crossed between these two villages a small creek, Heráwa, Bandáre, Chúki, Kalaségi, Gachi- (or Gasi-) lúmo, Nanka, Kárangérre, Surángo, Kúru (2nd day); Módi Masanáre, Kunába, Júre, Ikáre, Búrburankóbe, Nyóji, Diggesíre, Yá-saláme, a considerable town inhabited by Aswáneek and Fúlbe (3rd day).

Between Yówaru and Yá-saláme, along the western road by Urungíye. After having passed Urungíye: Alamáye, Ucha-malángo, Ukánnu, Jowengéña, a village called Alámame, another called Fíttobe, Doroy, Sáre-yáru, Diggesíre, Yá-saláme.

Between Yá-saláme and Saredína, a journey of three days: Kóra, Tóguri, Jappéje, Sēndekúbi, a hamlet inhabited by slaves of the Fúlbe and Júka, Sende-kórrobe, Chúbe, Bú-

deráje, Gánda, Gauye, Nomárde, Saredína. This road probably passes at no great distance W. of Tenéngu.

Between Yá-saláme and Konári, a journey of three days: Burtupédde, Geléji, Dóko, not the one mentioned above, Jónyori (1st day); Kóle, Wandebúte, Kollekómbe, Salsálbe (2nd day); U'nguremáji, Konári.

Between Basikúnnu and Yá-saláme: Kussumáre, Jáfera, Jerri-Jáfera, a village inhabited by slaves (1st day, short march); Bínyamús, a place inhabited by Arabs, Terebékko, Sorbára, Kóllima, Túgguri (2nd day); Túre-sangha, a place at present inhabited by Arabs (formerly by Songhay? túri= Mohammedan Máleki?), Kójole, Páche, Batáwa, a place inhabited by hárratín, Káre (residence of?) Búgoné, chief of the Bowát, Búburankóbe, Um-muswéle, Yá-saláme.

Between Basikúnnu and Yówaru, a journey of five and a half days: Barkánne or Barkánnu (1st day); another road goes by Jéppata; Shám, Lére (2nd day); Nimmer, a creek called by the Arabs, "el má hammer," "the red water," where you pass the heat, Dogoméra, Nyenche, Báya (3rd day); Karúnna, Gungu, Saléngurú, Chállunga, Gasi-lúmo (leaving Gasi-Jerma towards the N. (4th day); Kalasége, Chúki (5th day); Yówaru.

Between Ikánnu, a town lying one day W. of Urungíye and the town of Gúndam: Séda, Bundúre, Sabére-lóde, Tánuma, Jamwéli, Tómoró (both of these villages inhabited by Songhay and Aswánek conjointly), Surángo, Jábata, Lére, Gasi-Jerma, Nósi, Káti, Kábara, situated to the east of a large pond or dhaye, Kokónta, a Songhay village, Katáwó, Sumpi, Tákaí, Nyódogó, Hóro, Téle, Gundó or Gúndam.

N.—*Route from Timbúktu to Sansándi by way of Basikúnnu, from the information of Shéhho Wcéled A'mmer Waláti.*

2nd day. Gúndam, having passed by Kábara (not necessary, but most people do so); Tásakant, or Tásakalt,

- another village or údabay, a village called Duwókiré, and Dunge, a village inhabited by Rumá.
- 3rd. Têle, a creek or rijl, with many villages.
- 4th. Téríjít, a village on a creek of the river.
- 5th. Katáwó, another village inhabited originally by Ta-wárek.
- 6th. Kábara, or to distinguish it from the other village of the same name, Kábara Tanda, inhabited by Songhay.
- 7th. Janga, a place inhabited by Aswánek.
- 8th. Lére.
- 9th. Barkánni, a well, frequented by Arabs; a long day's march.
- 10th. Basikúnnu, a middle-sized place or ksar, inhabited by Arabs, especially the Welád 'Alúsh, a very warlike tribe, mustering about 700 armed people; but the chief part of the inhabitants consists of the slaves of the latter. Basikúnnu lies in the district called Eríggi, and is distant nine or ten days from Kasambára.
- 14th. Kíri, a well not far from the town of Kála, which informant intended to avoid; the direct road passing close along the western side of the wall of that town.
- 15th. Saradóbi, a deserted place.
- 16th. Falambúgu, a place inhabited by Bámbara.
- 17th. Swéra, a considerable place.
- 18th. Sansándi.

O.—*Route from Sansándi to Timbúktu, deviating a little from the general track for fear of the Fullán. Informant, Sidi A'hmed el Mazúki el Bágheni.*

- 1st day. Asér (probably identical with Swéra, the latter being the diminutive form), a village inhabited by Bámbara. You arrive a little after sunset, having started from Sansándi in the afternoon.
- 2nd. A place with a dhaye or tank. Pass the heat of the day in a deserted place, leaving Karadúgu a little

to the E. This whole country is pillaged and laid waste by continual forays owing to the feud between the Benáber or Bámbara and the Fullán.

- 3rd. Akór, a deserted place or ksar.
- 4th. Encamp in a spot in the wilderness, having passed the heat of the day in a place called by the Arabs Akúmbu jemel; leave the considerable place Kála, inhabited by Bámbara, to the W.
- 5th. Encamp in the wilderness.
- 6th. Sáro-bála, a place formerly inhabited by the Welád 'Alúsh and the Idélebú, but at present deserted.
- 7th. Gello, a village in the neighbourhood of a large "dhaye," or pond, two days from Yówaru, at present inhabited by the Teghdaust.
- 8th. Bír el Háj 'Omár, a well with an occasional encampment of the Zuwaye. The road, which in the first part of the journey was almost from S. to N., here turns more to the east.
- 9th. Lére, a village, or ksar, of the Welád Zayem, an Arab tribe dependent on the Fullán. A branch of the river skirts its east and south side. Even in the dry season, immense sheets of water are here collected, as is the case with the whole of Fermágha. The latter, which comprises this whole tract of country, is a larger province, and better inhabited than Aússa.
- 10th. Gasi e' Sáheli, or Gasi-Jerma, distant one and a half day's march to the north from the more important place, Gasi-Ghúma or Gasi-Lúmo, the great market-place of the "killa," or coarse coloured stuff of mixed cotton and wool, and the second place of the province of Fermágha, next to Yówaru. Gasi-Ghúma lies on the backwaters of the river, running parallel with the main branch between Lake Débu and Gúndam, and joining the river near Salga, while a branch runs from here to Gasi-Jerma, and thence to Lére. Gasi-Jerma has no

great commercial activity, but a good supply of corn ; shells are not current. It is inhabited by Songhay and Zoghorán, and is distant five days from Baší-kúnnu, towards the east.

11th. Sunfi, a place inhabited by Songhay, and belonging to Aússa. You pass the heat of the day in the ksar Nyeddúgu.

12th. No place.

13th. A village, or ksar, on a branch of the river. You pass the heat of the day near the dhaye Hór, and then keep along this sheet of water, which is a branch of the Rás el má, and, according to my informant, extends as far as Gasi-Ghúma.

14th. Gúndam.

N.B.—Perhaps one station has been left out, viz. Télé.

17th. Timbúktu.

*P.—Route from Timbúktu to Walúta.*

1st day. Farsha, a locality at the foot of a hill.

2nd. Mújerán, a lake in connection with the river, by means of the branch which separates from the latter between Betagúngu and Toga-bango, and encircled by hills. A short day's march. Gúndam from here S.S.W. The Kél-antsár of the I'gelád, whose chief is Tháher, encamp here.

3rd. Geléb el Ghánem, a fertile locality, with a high mount seen from Gúndam, situated on the bank of a branch of the river. You pass between nine and ten o'clock in the morning Abúnko, a small place, inhabited by slaves and a few Songhay.

4th. A'm-gunnán, a favoured spot, where slaves of the Tawárek cultivate the ground.—“A'm” is not pure Arabic, but of Semitic origin.

5th. Rás el má, (“the head of the water,”) called “A'raf-n-

A'man" by the Tawárek, or I'móshagh, the outlying creek, where the traveller from the north, on his way to Waláta, seems formerly to have first reached the river. This creek is stated by tradition to have been dug by the Bashá Jódar and his musketeers, or "ermá." On the south side of this basin, already mentioned by El Bekrí\*, there are small villages, or "ádabay," (pl. "tadebít,") inhabited by the I'délebó, a poor Moorish tribe, said to be related to the Shemman-A'inmas. It is an important fact, that all the wheat consumed in Timbúktu is cultivated round the Rás el má, and not brought from the north, as Caillié stated (Travels to Timbuctoo, vol. ii. p. 20.).

From Rás el má, which appears to be a little S. from W. of Timbúktu, the direct road to Waláta leaves the basin of the river and reaches that place in seven good days' marches, or even in travelling as a courier in five, direction a little N. from W. In the dry season there is no water along this road, but in the rainy season plenty of tanks, or "dhaye," are met with, so that at that time of the year some people prefer travelling at their leisure, performing the distance in ten or twelve days.

Our road keeps at some distance from the outlying backwaters of the river and reaches, with a long march.

- 6th day. Ulákiás, a very deep well, about twenty fathoms deep. On the way, you pass the locality "Táde-mét," called by this name from a group of "tédukt," as the baobab is called by the people of Timbúktu.
- 7th. A'dar, a well, with a small dwelling-place, or "ksar," inhabited by Songhay, and slaves of the I'délebó.
- 8th. Bír e' Selem, a well.



9th. Bú-Seríbe, a well; a long day's march. You pass another well called Zegzíg.

10th. Basikúnnu.

15th. Waláta, as the town is called by the Arabs and Tawárek, or Bíru, as it is called by the blacks, especially the Azér, a section of the Aswáneki, who are the original inhabitants of the place. It is a considerable town, consisting of houses built carefully of a good species of clay, with a rough-cast of plaster, as it would seem. But the situation of Waláta, at the eastern border of the district El Hódh, at the foot of a range of hills called "Dháhar Waláta," which encircle it on this side, and a large valley, richly clad with trees, skirts the north and east side, is considered as extremely unhealthy, and on this account is called "khánegi el haye," "the throat of the snake," the district El Hódh being considered as the snake. Thus, in this respect, Waláta entirely resembles Ghánata, or the capital of the empire; but besides being a hotbed of disease, the town is now also the seat of poverty and misery, which Ghánata, at least during its prime, certainly was not. For, as we have seen (Vol. IV., Chronolog. Tables, p. 594), in the course of the fifteenth century, all the commercial importance of that place was transferred to Timbúktu, and nothing remained except the trade in provisions, especially Negro-corn, or "éneli."

The inhabitants of Waláta are a mixed race of blacks and whites. The former, at present greatly reduced in numbers and their moral standard considerably lowered, belong to the widely scattered nation of the Swanínki or Azér, the whites are Bérbers and Arabs, the Arabs belonging to various tribes, but especially to the tribe of the Méhajíb, who even among themselves make use almost exclusively of

the Azériye idiom, this being the indigenous language.

About one mile west from Bíru, are the ruins of an ancient place called Tezúght, formerly inhabited by the Berber tribe of the Idáw el Háj, who were the chief propagators of Islám over these parts of Negroland, and ruled them for a long time. Among the ruins much gold is said to be found occasionally at this very day. At that time Bíru was only inhabited by the native blacks. All circumstances taken into account, although the whole district called El Hódh was once thickly covered with towns, or "ksúr," it cannot be denied, that the double town of Tezúght-Bíru is more fully entitled than any other place to be identified with the celebrated capital of the Ghánata empire.\* The distance of Ghánata from Rás el má—the five days being taken at the rate of a courier—and that from Amíma, or Míme, or, as the name is generally pronounced, Maima, a locality still bearing this name, although the place is at present deserted, a little to the west of Lére, correspond exactly; the distance of three days from that place to the river (at Safnakú or Safekú) does not harmonize exactly with the present state of the country, the smallest distance of Waláta from the river being five days; but it is not impossible that the outlying creeks, eight centuries ago, approached a little closer the site of Waláta.

As for the distance of twenty days between Ghánata and Silla, which is certainly the town on the bank of the Niger visited by Mungo Park, it is to be considered at the rate of marching with loaded caravans.

\* I here cannot omit to express my admiration of Mr. Cooley's critical judgment, who, from the incomplete materials which he at the time possessed, arrived at the same conclusion in his researches on the Negroland of the Arabs. See especially p. 43.

Silla was a very important place, and gave its name to the Sillát, that section of the Swanínki, or Aswáneki, which is most distinguished on account of the antiquity and purity of its Islám, but the town has recently been destroyed in the wars between the Bámbara and Fullán.

There is a spacious mosque in Waláta, of high antiquity, but certainly wrongly attributed to Sidi 'Ukba el Mústajúb.

Between Waláta and A'rawán ten days are counted, in an east-north-easterly direction, through the "A'kela," the very name given to a portion of the old Ghánata, A'kela being nothing but another form of the name Aúkár, a district consisting of light isolated sandhills, full of excellent shrubs for the camel, but entirely destitute of water, the tribe of the Kóbetát, who are wandering hereabout, not less than their camels, subsisting entirely on water-melons, which grow here in great plenty, and contain a sufficient supply of the aqueous element.

#### Q 1.—*Routes from Waláta to Sansúndi.*

Most people who undertake this journey, go from Waláta to Basikúnnu, and thence to Sansúndi, along the track described above; for the direct route which I am now about to communicate, according to the statements of my two informants, leads through a district much frequented by Arabs from El Hódh, whom peaceful travellers endeavour to avoid. I first give the route according to Shékho Weled A'mmer Waláti.

1st day. Simberínne, a spot in the sandhills only a short, or rather half a day's march.

2nd. Ríni, a well.

3rd. E' Shemín, a well of great depth.

4th. Sigánnecját, a group of shallow wells, dry in summer.

- 5th. Dendáre, a large tank or dhaye, site of a former ksar, with an extensive forest, or "ghába."
- 6th. Kork, a wooded and hilly locality.
- 7th. El Barúk, a well.
- 8th. Búgla, a deep well, surrounded by fine groups of the tédum, or baobab. You pass, on the road, the wells El Ghánimát and Jellúk.
- 9th. El Tréik, a well, or El Mákrunát, a little further on.
- 10th. Atwél, a well to the east of Sinyáre, or you may make a long march, and go to Farabúgu, a Bámbara village.
- 11th. Kála, a large town of Bámbara, only two or three hours from Farabúgu. It is no doubt the same Kála which once constituted a small kingdom of itself, and of which A'hmed Bábá speaks so repeatedly.\* In course of time it constituted one of the three great divisions of the empire of Melle, the two others being Benne-ndúgu and Sabardúgu.
- 12th. Sara-dóbú, or Sara-dúgu.
- 13th. Falam-búgu.
- 14th. Swéra.
- 15th. Sansá'ndi.

Q 2.—*Same Route according to El Beshír.*

N.B.—Informant proceeded on this route with a caravan of camels and pack-oxen, the former travelling from morning till about four o'clock in the afternoon; the latter resting during the heat of the day, and following in the evening.

- 1st day. Aréni (evidently identical with Ríni), or another group of wells called A'jel el A'hmar.
- 2nd. Arék, sandhills, having passed the heat of the day at the Bír A'shim-mén (E' Shemín).
- 3rd. Ajábi, or, if you proceed a little further, and keep more to the east, Tenwakkar.

\* Journal of Leipsic Oriental Society, vol. ix. p. 527.

- 4th. El Ghánimát, a well with a pond, or "dhaye."
- 5th. Encamp at the foot of a conspicuous eminence, "e' sín," of the chain called "Dháhar Waláta," which encircles El Hódh on the east side, and which is here crossed.
- 6th. Encamp without water.
- 7th. Sinyáre, a village, or ksar, of the Swánínki or Aswáneek.
- 8th. Kála, as above. My informant states, that this town, like the last station before Sansúndi, is called Swéra by the Aswáneek.
- 9th. Falambúgu, a few milés to the west of Karadúgu.
- 10th. Swéra.
- 11th. Sansúndi, a short march.

*R.—Route from Kasambúra to Waláta.*

Kasambúra is regarded as the chief town in Bághena, and is often the residence of the chief of the Welád McBárek.

1st day. Lombo-tendi, a rather long day. Lombo-tendi is the name of a well, and a ksar or village of clay huts, inhabited by Rumá, or Ermá (see Vol. IV. p. 431). Besides Lombo-tendi, there are two other ksúr in Bághena inhabited by this remarkable set of mulattoes, both of them called Barasáfa, the one situated at no great distance S.E. from Lombo-tendi, the other lying near Bisúga, to the N.E. These three villages together form the group called in Bághena "Ksúr e' Rúmmc."

2nd. Tamára, a tank or dhaye.

3rd. Agámmu, a well and tank.

4th. Bú-Lawán, a well.

5th. Nâma, a pretty ksar, or small town, built about fifty years ago by a grandson of Múláy Ismáúíl, in consequence of a civil war which had broken out amongst the Shurfa residing in Waláta. The village is inhabited by Shurfa, Méhajíb, and by I'dólebó. The

houses are built of clay and stone; the west side of the village is skirted by a valley which contains some hundreds of palm-trees, and where some tobacco is grown. Náma is situated at the foot of the hilly chain which encircles the whole of El Hódh, or the basin. You arrive early in the morning.

8th. Waláta.

S.—*From Kasambára to Jawára, from the information of Sidi A'hmed el Mazúki el Bágheni.*

1st day. Encamp in the wilderness, having rested two or three hours in Bisága.

2nd. Retánne, a group of shallow wells, or hasián. You pass the heat in Benón, at present a ksar inhabited by Aswáneek, but evidently identical with the place of encampment of the chief of the Ludamar (Welád 'Omár, pronounced A'mmer), where Mungo Park suffered so much. Another road leads from Bisága to Benón, by a place called Dúnu.

3rd. Jawára, called by the Fúlbe, or Fullán, Jára Melle, once the capital of the empire of Melle, at present deserted; during the latter period of its existence inhabited by Rúmmé (Rumá), and Gurmábe.

Jawára is distant one and a half day N.N.E. from Jebéga, and two days from Samakéde, passing one night in Melléri, a ksar inhabited by the Welád Dábo (the name given by the Arabs to one section of the Aswáneek, or Wákoró), and passing the heat in a place called Arjóga. It is after this town, Jawára, or Jaura, that the Fúlbe call the Swánínki, or Sécbe, as they style themselves (the noblest section of the Aswáneek), by the name of Jaura-n-kóbe. At a short distance from Melléri, S., lies the ksar Jemjúmmu, and W. of it, Súra.

*T.—From Kasambára to Bú-Jedúr or Bakel.*

- 1st day. Bisága, a ksar of Aswáneek, having passed the heat of the day in Jóga.
- 2nd. Joróni, a ksar of Aswáneek. In the morning, not far from Bisága you pass Medína, a large place, and further on Demmundáli, and rest during the heat of the day in A'gwenít, a considerable ksar, likewise inhabited by Aswáneek.
- 3rd. Túregbámme, another ksar of Aswáneek, having passed the heat in a place called Kurehe.
- 4th. Jebéga, a ksar of Aswáneek. The traveller enters Kaarta, and the roads divide. Jebéga is said to be two days S. E. of Mesíla.
- 5th. Samankéde, a place inhabited at present by Bámbara. You pass the heat in a village called Aréri, and leave the village Chenchá on one side.
- 6th. El Káb, a ksar of Aswáneek, having passed another place called Bú-Swéde, and rested during the greatest heat in Kórkoró.
- 7th. Brenta, one of the chief places of the Aswáneek. You pass the heat in Yóri, another place of the Aswáneek.
- 8th. Tenge, a village inhabited by Bámbara, and dominating a mountain pass. You halt during the hot hours of the day at ~~pass~~ a village inhabited by Bámbara.
- 9th. Mfuru, the residence of a chief called Dembo Wedled Músa Korbo, situated in a wide valley. You rest during the heat in Mowedína, a town inhabited by Bámbara and governed by a chief of the name of Hassan Bébelé.
- 10th. Lewána, a large place, and residence of a governor dependent on the King of Ségo. You rest at noon in a village inhabited by slaves of the Bámbara.
- 11th. Gúri, the chief place of Jáfunu (evidently identical

with Raffene's Kóghi \*), a considerable town built of clay, and containing, according to the statements of informants, not less than sixty *msíd*, or places of worship. The inhabitants are *Aswáne*k, forming a particular stock, called by the *Fúlbe* "*Jáfunankóbe*." The population of the country of *Kajága* or *Gejága* S. of *Jáfunu* is said to consist likewise of *Aswáne*k, forming another tribe, called *Hairankóbe* by the *Fúlbe*. You rest at noon in *Cháma*, a place inhabited by *Bámbara*, and governed by a son of *Morbo*; and beyond that place you enter *Jáfunu*, *Jáfunu*, or, as the name is pronounced by the Arabs, *Jáfena*.

- 15th. *Bú-Jedúr*, as the French settlement *Bakel*, to the S. S. E. of *Bot-hadíye*, is universally called by the Arabs. There are many towns and villages on the road, the names of which informant had forgotten. You enter the province of *Fúta* on the 12th day.

U.—*Route from Kasambára to Mesila.*

- 1st day. *Bisága*. From *Bisága* to *Benón* is one day's march from morning till sunset, halting at noon in *Dúnu*.
- 2nd. In the wilderness.
- 3rd. *Ferénni*, a *ksar* inhabited by *Aswáne*k. It is the westernmost *ksar* of *Bághena*, being situated about six miles N. N. W. from *Benón*.
- 4th. *Gógi*, a shallow well, or *hasi*, belonging to *Termessa*, a district of *El Hódh*. Arrive about noon.
- 5th. Beyond a well named *Talli*, rich in water and adorned with small trees, where you pass the heat and proceed on your journey.
- 6th. *Bowár*, a copious well, constituting the W. frontier of

\* Raffene's Second Voyage, vol. i. p. 223. s. q.



El Hódh, and frequented by the tribes of the Zenágha or Senhája, Henún, and Fúta.

- 7th. Mesíla, a group of shallow wells, the first of which is called Akerúd. With regard to plants, the "dirs" is almost exclusively found here.

*V.—Route from Kasambára to Nyámina.*

- 1st day. N'ama, a ksar of the Welúd Mazúk. Rest during the heat of the day in a village called San-fága.
- 2nd. Dýnnia, a large and wealthy town of the Welúd Yágeré, residence of a governor called Músa Nájem, son of Bankóro, and dependent on the king of Bámbara. The town is rich in horses. You pass the heat in a place called Séredú, inhabited by Aswáneke and Bámbara. Dýnnia is distant one day's march W. from Alússa, resting at noon in a ksar called Wésat, inhabited by Bámbara.
- 3rd. Jóre, belonging to the district of Dýnnia. You pass the heat in Wáteré, a large Bámbara place.
- 4th. Debála, a Bámbara town, belonging to the north-western province of the Bámbara empire called Kéche. Rest during the heat in Delúnga, a place distant only six or eight miles from Jóre.
- 5th. Mekoye, a large place, residence of the governor of Kéche. Pass Kasambúgu, a large place inhabited by Arabs and Bámbara.
- 13th. Nyámina, a considerable town and well-furnished market-place on the N. side of the Dhiúlibá. The market of Nyámina excels that of Sansándi in many respects, and supplies a great proportion of the inhabitants of the Western desert. The district intervening between Mekoye and Nyámina is densely inhabited, but informant does not remember the names of the places where he slept. Not far W. from Nyámina a very considerable creek or back-

water separates from the river, opening an extensive inland navigation. It divides itself into two branches, the eastern one of which follows an almost northerly direction, approaching close to Tumbúlle, a ksar in the country of the A'hel Yággeré, distant a day and a half S. S. W. from Dýnnia, and thence going to Jungúnta, situated at the same distance S. from W. of Dýnnia (starting from Dýnnia, pass the heat in Farku, sleep in Sillintíggera, arrive in the morning in Jungúnta), after which the creek turns S. from W. to the country of A'hel Mása.

*W.—From Kasambára to Nyámina by way of Murja, and from Murja to Mekoye.*

1st day. Dáli, one of the chief places of the Aswáneek.

Pass on the road the villages Zeghéri, probably identical with the زغاري of the Arab traveller E'bn Batúta (Journal As. Soc., 1852, p. 50.); farther on Serére, then Baínbála, where you pass the heat of the day. E., at no great distance from Dáli, was formerly the ksar called Debbús. At a short distance E. of Baínbála is the village Kóshi. Direction S. E., or rather E. S. E.

2nd. Alássa, a ksar of the tribe of the Teghdaust of mixed Aswáneek and Arab blood, once very powerful and widely scattered, at present degraded to the condition of "lhame," or "khóddemán," serfs or tributaries, but still distinguished on the score of their learning. The town of Alássa itself is very remarkable on account of its palm trees, there being besides these no palm trees in the whole of Bághena, with the exception of two trees in Kasambára, where there were formerly four. About six miles S. S. E. from Alássa lies Safantára, a large Bámbara place. Direction, E. of S. You halt during the heat in Yengót. Here

you also pass the heat of the first day in going from Alássa to Jawára in very short marches; sleep in el Awéna; halt the second day in Seghállí, sleep in Jurni (Joróni); third day sleep in Kúrché; fourth day sleep in Torangúmbu (Turaghamme); fifth day reach Jawára.

From Alássa to Akúmb is two and a half days' march S.E. First day Raranrúlle, making a short halt at noon in Tambebógo; second day Rullúmbo, passing the heat in Fúgti; third day Akúmb; distance the same as that between Kábara and Timbúktu. A short distance N. from Akúmb is Díggeṇa, with a mixed population of Bámbara, Aswáneek, and Fullán.

- 3rd. Tambe-bógo, a ksar of Bámbara. Rest a couple of hours during the heat of the day in Gala-bógo, likewise inhabited by Bámbara.
- 4th. Nyáme-bógo, another Bámbara place, about noon.
- 5th. Sleep in the wilderness, having rested at noon in Dambar- (or Damboy-) keséba.
- 6th. Murja, in the morning.

*In going from Murja to Nyámina.*

- 1st day. Khersanúne, a Bámbara place; arrive between three and four o'clock, without having halted on the road.
- 2nd. Manzánne.
- 3rd. Kanú, a Bámbara place, about three o'clock P.M.
- 4th. Ksér (diminutive form of "ksar") el M'allemin, a place inhabited by Aswáneek students, and therefore so designated by the Arabs.
- 5th. Nyámina, before noon.

*From Murja to Mekoye.*

- 1st day. Gellu, a considerable place. It was formerly dependent upon Murja, but it has succeeded in making itself independent, while the latter place lay deserted and waste for nearly four years, and it has also preserved its independence since the rebuilding of Murja in 1852-3. Several towns or villages in the neighbourhood belong to Gellu.
- 2nd. Debála. Pass on the road many *ksúr* or small towns.
- 3rd. Mekoye. A long day.

I here add a few less distinct data with regard to this region from the information of Dáúd.

Between Marikoire (probably identical with Mekoye) and Debála, the following towns and villages: Belála, Dundé, Síde, Nawelénna, Kalúmbu, a Bámbara place, Debála.

Between Debála and Dinga, on a route of a little more than a day's journey, are the following places: Wálteré, Marénna, Síránkóro, Tówa, Dócheré, Dinga. Dinga is said by this informant to be the abode of the A'hel Yéggara, a tribe of Bámbara.

Between Marikoire and Danfa, in a direction from west to east, two and a half days' fast, or four days' slow travelling: Búle, Tolókkoró, Séle, Búlo, Báne, Tánturubále, Kóssa, Barakóro, Bássala, two considerable villages or *ksúr*, inhabited by Bámbara people, Bankorondúgu, Danfa.

Between Danfa and Debála, a two days' journey north, lie the following places: Dogoye, A'rsa, Marénna, Námbara, Babanúru, Mariam-Babanúru, Jeraudu, Bóngel, Debála.

Between Yá-saláme and Sókolo, a three days' journey: Nyenchéle, Nyarinyarinde, Kúre (see below), Urlí, Sókolo; a long uninhabited tract intervening between the last two stations.

**X 1.—Route from Kasambára to Kóla direct.**

- 1st day. Chappáto, a ksar of the Bámbara, a few miles west from Dáli. Halt at noon in Bámbála.
- 2nd. Jibónfo, a town inhabited by Fúlbe. Pass the heat in U'm el 'Arúk. One day from U'm el 'Arúk is Musáweli, a considerable ksar of the Aswáne, about two hours north of Kolí. Another road from Musáweli to Kasambára leads, 1st, to U'm el 'Arúk; on the 2nd day, by Kúsh to Kóla; on the 3rd, to Serére; on the 4th, to Kasambára. One day and a half from Jibónfo is Tangenágha. Halt at noon in Raranrúlle, a Bámbara village; sleep at Fúrti or Dambo-selli; reach at noon, the next day, Jibónfo.
- 3rd. Kolí, a considerable place; arrive about three o'clock P.M. It is two hours south from Musáweli.
- 4th. Encamp in the open country, having halted during the heat in Kúmba, which is not farther distant from Kolí than Kábára from Timbúktu, and consists of two villages, separated from each other by a valley, where the market is held; the northern village being called Ferbága, and the southern one, Lellága.
- 5th. Kóla, a Bámbara place, distant two days north-west from Kála, and six from Sansándi. Arrive before noon.

**X 2.—Zigzag route from Sansándi to Kasambára, according to the *Idésan El Mukhtár*.\* Slow rate with camels.**

- 2nd day. Karandúgu, dependent upon Bámbara. Country level; all the houses clay; no reed huts.
- 4th. Denfó, a large walled place, under the dominion of Bámbara; residence of a governor; abundance of

\* It would seem, from many indications, that this informant describes the country in the more flourishing state which it enjoyed some years previously to my visit to Negroland.

trees, rice; horned cattle, sheep; much cotton. The natives, dressed in tobes, take their supply of water from wells. In Karandúgu informant changed his north north-easterly direction for one going west.

- 5th. Salákoró, a small village of Bámbara, densely inhabited. Country well cultivated. Arrive at sunset.
- 6th. Bernínkoró, a small village, but well inhabited. Even the smaller towns and villages in this quarter are constructed of clay. Grain in abundance; much honey and butter.
- 7th. Murja, a large walled place; residence of a governor called Mamári, and nicknamed by informant Elli-Bú-seruwál. The inhabitants, including the governor, all idolaters, but dress well; like all the Bámbara people, they have a golden stud in the right ear. A great portion of them speak Arabic. They are armed with muskets and arrows. The country is perfectly level; no valleys, only wells.
- 8th. Encamp at sunset in the open country. The country here intersected by sandy ridges, nebák or erreg rendering the passage difficult. No cultivation, but tall trees; no water.
- 9th. Kumba, first town of Bághena, separated by a ravine into two distinct quarters, each ruled by a governor of its own. In the ravine or valley the market is held. The inhabitants are all Mohammedans; speak Bámbara. Informant, from some cause or other, did not take the direct road from Murja to Kasambára by way of Alússa.
- 10th. Kolí, at sunset; a large walled town, half clay, half reed. The whole country is under cultivation; cattle and sheep; wells; no running water. The Welád e' Rahmún, the Shébahín, besides the Aswánek, have villages on the road. There are also

- the Fúlbe tribes, the Bowár, with the chief Búgenó, and the Hásinibóro, with the chief Sumbúnne, but acknowledging the supremacy of Bághena.
- 11th. Rorínga, a temporary dwelling-place of the roving tribes, including the Idésan. Arrive at four o'clock P.M., having rested at noon.
- 12th. U'm el 'Arúk, a large village, with shallow wells. Much cotton and indigo. Arrive about noon.
- 13th. Chapáto, a place inhabited by Sellát, a section of Aswáneek, Mohammedans; many temporary settlers. Early in the morning.
- 14th. Kúsh, a large place, residence of the Helbúbu Welád Malibúb, who have no handicraft or market; make war in company with the Arabs; are armed with muskets; their idiom Bámbara, Aswáneek, and Arab; all clay dwellings.
- 15th. Tónorár, small place; as usual, consisting of clay dwellings; residence of the Arúsíyín, with their chief Sídi Sála; herds of cattle; no camels; much honey.
- 16th. Kserát Shigge (probably meaning "the manufacturing or weaving towns," shigge being generally the name given to cotton in these quarters). At present the Kesína, a section of those in Sús, dwell here. Arrival in the morning early.
- 17th. Kasambára, large place; clay and reed; residence, at the time of informant's journey, of Mukhtár, son of Mohammed, whom my informant believed able to bring into the field from 6000 to 7000 cavalry, but only a few infantry.

*Y.—A few Notes on the present State of Bághena.*

The name of Bághena, as it comprises part of the ancient territory of Ghánata, has evidently also supplanted the ancient name. At present it does not comprise a country naturally or politically united; for, naturally considered,

Bághena forms part of the district El Hódh, at least that portion of it which is most favoured by nature; and in a political point of view it consists of the most heterogeneous elements, comprising districts inhabited by Aswánek, Arabs, and Fullán. The former, even at the end of the last century, were very powerful, when they became known to Venture under the name of Marka\*, through the medium of those two Moroccan merchants who visited Paris at that time. This name is given to them by the Bámbara, who call their country Marka-káñne or kanda, and are greatly intermixed with them. The Fullán hereabouts also formerly had great power, and have become famous under the name Kowár.

The Aswánek, Swánínki, Sébe, or Wákoré, were the original inhabitants of the country, and once formed the principal stock in the vast and glorious empire of Ghánata, the ruling class not improbably belonging to the Púllo stock, the Leukæthiopes, who were settled in this very region since the time of Ptolemy, till they were overpowered by the nearly related tribe of the Mandingoes or Júli, who, on the ruins of the empire of Ghánata, founded a new empire, extending its influence over the whole middle course of the great river. This new empire was called "Melle," from melle, a word meaning "free," "noble," as the dominating tribe of the Mandingoes called themselves, in opposition to their oppressed brethren, the Aswánek, just in the same manner as the free, roving portion of the Berbers from ancient times seem to have called themselves Múzigh, Imóshagh, in opposition to the degraded settlers in the towns. The feeble remains of the empire of Melle, which had been nearly annihilated by the Songhay, were extinguished, as it seems, in the beginning of the reign of Múláy Ismáíl, when the Arabs on the one side, and the Bámbara on the other, began to take the lead in those quarters, while the Fúlbe or Fullán appeared in the background.

\* Venture, *Vocabulaire Berbère*, ed. Jaubert, Appendix, p. 225.



The catastrophe of the extinction of this last remnant of the empire of Melle is not without interest in the modern history of the western part of Central Africa. For a civil war having arisen between the royal princes Dábo and Sagóne, sons of Feréngh Mahmúd, the late king or ruler of Melle, (the title "Feréngh," instead of the more exalted one of Mansa, showing his reduced state of rank,) all the most powerful tribes in that part of the continent took part in the quarrel: one faction being formed by the Bámbara, who, in the meantime, had won Ségo from their masters and near relations the Mandingoes, the Welád Mazúk, the noblest portion of the Welád Mebérek, and the A'hel Sembóru, that is to say, a section of the Fullán, who meanwhile had settled in these quarters; while the opposite party consisted of the Rumá, or Ermá, the Moroccan conquerors of Songhay, who had settled down in certain places of that vast empire, and intermarried with the natives; the Zenágha; the Welád 'Alúsh, a very warlike tribe, mentioned above; and the A'hel Mása, or Sáro, a section of the Wákoré. In this struggle the capital of Melle was destroyed; and while the people of Bámbara took possession of the south-western portion of its dominions, the Welád Mebérek, with their friends the Welád Mazúk, rendered themselves masters of its north-eastern districts. For Hennún, the son of Bó-hedel, son of Mebérek, who had led this tribe in the sanguinary and long-lasting war, received from the hands of Muláy Ismáíl, the energetic emperor of the Gharb, as a sort of feudal dominion, the lordship of Bághena; and his successors have at least partly retained it up to this day. I here give a list of these chiefs, adding the length of their reigns, wherever I was able to make it out: —

'Omár (A'mmer) Weled Hennún, a powerful chief, who has given his name to the ruling tribe, which, after him, is called Welád 'Omár (A'mmer), a name corrupted by Park into Lúdamar.

'Alí Weled 'Omár ruled almost forty years; was visited by Park shortly before his death.

'Omár Weled 'Alí, ruled about thirteen years.

Mohammed Weled 'Omár was chief about the same number of years.

'Alí Weled Mohammed was chief seven years.

Hennún Weled Mohammed murdered his brother 'Alí, but was chief only four months, being murdered in his turn by

Mukhtár, a near relative of his, who was chief for about twelve years.

Babúne succeeded him. Between this chief and Hámed Weled 'Alí e' Sheikh Weled Hennún Weled Bóhedel, there arose a civil war, which lasted seven years, devastating all Bághena, and weakening especially the power of the Arabs. At the end of seven years, Hámed died, Babúne, who altogether ruled about nine years, surviving him by one year. He was succeeded by

'Alí Weled el Mukhtár, the present chief of the Welád Mebárek, who in 1853 had ruled two years.

As for the Fullán, or Fúlbe, they had become very numerous in Bághena, and were in possession of several ksúr, principally Dáguní, Jibónfo, Kemeñyómo, Nara, Kebda, Barréu, and Gurúnge, till they were driven out of these places by 'Omár Weled Hennún, when most of the ksúr remained deserted. But the policy of the Fullán of Bághena became entirely changed when their brethren on the other side of the river, led on by the fanatical and energetic chieftain Mohammed Lebbo, raised the standard of the Jihád in the year 1821. Jealous of their political independence, which thus became threatened, they then joined the Arabs in their struggle against the new empire of Hamda-Alláhi, and supported them. Nevertheless, favoured as he was by the civil war amongst the latter, the chief A'hmedu, son of Mohammed Lebbo, made considerable progress in Bághena, which was not arrested until recently. At present Sumbúnne, son of Bú-Bakr, the present emír of the Fullán in Bághena, has built a new ksar, the place El Imbediye men-

tioned above, situated a few miles east from Lombo Tendi, and to the north of another ksar called Gúrúnga. There is also a Pullo emír in Bághena, of the name A'bú El Háji Ibrahíma, who seems to enjoy considerable authority.

As for the Aswánek of Bághena, who, as will have been gleaned already from the itineraries, are masters of many ksúr, their present policy is said to consist in keeping prudently in the background, and economising their strength for some great exertion in favour of their own independence. I here insert a list of the several sections into which the Aswánek are divided, as far as I have become acquainted with them :

The Kométen, in Sansáandi or Sansánni, which originally was an Aswánek town.

The Síse, not unlikely related with the Súsu.

The Sása.

The Konne.

The Berta.

The Berre.

The Dúkkera, or Dúkerát.

The Silláwa, or Sillát.

The Kágórát, a very remarkable tribe, distinguished by a lighter hue, and, according to report, even by a peculiar idiom, while in other respects, especially by the three cuts which they make along both cheeks, they approach closer to the customs of the Bámbara and A'hel Mása.

The Kúnpatát.

The Jáwarát, speaking nothing but the pure Aswánek language, and divided into the two sections of the Welúd Dábo and the Swági, the latter especially being very numerous and warlike.

The Fófanát.

The Dúrisút.

The chief of the Aswánek in Bághena is Músa, son of Benédik, who resides in Ershún, at no great distance W. from Bisúga.

Related to the Aswánek are also the Sáro, whose seats are

one day S. from Jinni, and who, together with the Bámbara, fight against the Fúlbe. Their former chief was Chong Weléd Músa.

The hostilities carried on between the inhabitants of the northern banks of the Niger, or Dhiúlíba, as a whole, on the one side, and the Fúlbe of Hamda-Alláhi on the other, exercise their influence also upon the relation which exists between the Arabs of Bághena and the Bámbara, which therefore at present cannot but be a friendly one.

On the whole, the country of Bághena, which well deserves the attention of Europeans, is not less capable of fixed settlements, than it is fit for rehála life, or nomadic wandering, although it is not suited for the camel. Besides cultivation of dukhn, or, as it is here called, bishen, or héní, and dhurra or sába, wild rice is procured from the numerous swamps formed in the rainy season, as is also the case in the whole of El Ilódh. The trees most common in Bághena are the tédum or baobab, at least in the southern districts, the róma or líyene, the chígfít, the baferéwa, and the aúrnal; of the date-tree I have spoken above.

Z.—*Route from Kasambára to Tishít, or Shétu, from the information of El Imám, a native of the latter place.*

1st day. Mabruk, a large well, or hasi.

5th. Ajwér, a large and much frequented well, distant a long day's journey W. from the celebrated well "Bir Nwál."

As far as Ajwér, the direction is almost N., but here it becomes N. W.

10th. Agérijít, in former times nothing but a well, but in the year 1850, owing to a civil war having broken out in Tishít, one section of the Welád Bille left their home and settled near this well, where they built a small kear or village. Here the direction of the road changes to the W.

11th. Tishít, or as the place is called by its original inhabitants, Shétu. These indigenous inhabitants of Tishít are the Másina, a section of the Aswáneq, or Azér, consisting of two divisions, one of darker, and the other of lighter colour. These Másina are the founders of the kingdom of Másina, or Másín, whose centre was the island, or rúde, formed by the Máyo Balléo and the Máyo Rannéo, with Tenéngu as its chief place. It is still an important market-place. Tishít is said by the Arabs to have been founded by 'Abd el Múmen about the fifth century of the Hejra; but that means only that about the period indicated the Berbers took possession of the town, the original name of which they thus changed into Tishít. At present there live in the town, intermixed with the Másina, the Welád Bille, who about two centuries ago formed an extremely rich and powerful tribe, but part of whom, as stated before, have at present emigrated. The consequence is, that the town has decayed greatly, and seems scarcely to contain at present more than about 3000 inhabitants. Besides the Welád Bille, there live also in Tishít a certain number of Zuwaye or Tolba, especially the A<sup>ch</sup>el Hindi Nislim.

Tishít lies not far from the southern foot of the Kódia, which encircles El Hódh, and there is, at no great distance from it, a sebkha, where an inferior kind of salt is obtained. The only produce of the place are dates of various quality, the names of which are as follows:—Básebúrk, Dérmakúl, Dérmásúggín, Batáye, Mandínga, Géli, Habbes, Getfáf, Dáram, Birkeráwi, Zengít, Tamaraníye. All other articles of food are brought from Nyámi, which forms the great market-place of Tishít and the surrounding country.

There is another more westerly road, leading from Kasambára to Tishít, and reaching on the 4th day the well called

“bir Fóg,” or, perhaps, “fók,” meaning “the upper well;” on the 8th, another well or hasi, called “A’jwe,” and bringing the traveller to Tishít on the 10th before noon.

*AA.—List of Stations between Tishít and Waláta.*

- 1 short march. A’gerijít, the well where the road from Kasambára joins.
- 1 short march. Tuwéjínit.
- 1 long march. Bottat el abés.
- 1 short march. A’ratán.
- 1 short march. ‘Imód elán, hills or columns of sand, one of them called ‘Amad el Abiadh. This station is very important, as it is the point where the direct road from Wadán to Waláta joins this track. See lower down.
- $\frac{3}{4}$  day. Bú-mehaye.
- 1 day. I’ghelád Tímasóra.
- $\frac{1}{2}$  day. Shebbi, “máden sheb abiadh,” mines of white alum.
- 1 long day. Ojáf.
- 1 day. Tagoráret.
- $\frac{1}{2}$  day. El ‘Ayún Khanfóreten Aísa.
- 1 day. Wádi Níti, with wells (hasián) and íghelád.
- 1 day. Waláta.

*BB.—Route from Tishít to Bot-hadiye.*

- 3rd day. Týggebo, a ksar, or village, inhabited by the Teghdaust, a very remarkable tribe about whom I shall say more farther on, and by the Tájakánt. The village belongs to the district called Erkíz, perhaps identical with what others call Taskast. About ten miles west from Týggebo there is an ancient place called Nyadásh, inhabited likewise by the Teghdaust.
- 4th. Ergébe, or rather a resting place in the hilly district called by that name. In another part of this hilly

tract, on the frontier of Afólle, a party of Zuwayc have recently built a ksar, or small town of the name of Makámet.

- 5th. E'nwasár, a shallow well or hasi.
- 10th. Bú-bothá, a well or hasi, evidently near a bothá or swampy depression. Between E'nwasár and this place there are other watering places, but informant has forgotten their names.
- 11th. Jók, a well or hasi.
- 14th. Limódu, a ksar or village inhabited by the Medrámbérin, a tribe of the Kunta.
- 16th. Jigge, a valley with plenty of water in the rainy season.
- 17th. El Mal, a small island in a lake of fresh water, and not even drying up during the dry season.
- 19th. Krá el ásfar, a creek of the bahr Fúta or Senegal, so called by the Arabs.
- 21st. Bír el Ghála, a well.
- 22nd. Testaye, a well.
- 23rd. Bothádiye or el Bot-hú, as Fort St. Joseph seems to be called by the Arabs.

CC.—*Stations on the route from Wadán to Tishit.*

- 5 days. Bú-Sefíye.
- $\frac{1}{2}$  day. Khat el Moina or Shwékh.
- 1 day. Lobér.
- 1 long. Tin-tét or Ghaléb e' dál.
- 1 day. Felísh el milha.
- 1 day. Kátib.
- 1 day. El Badiyát.
- 1 day. El Jerádiyát.
- 1 day. Ganeb, a well or hasi, with date palms.
- 1 day. Dikil gháleb.
- 1 day. Tishít.

From Wadán to the sebkha I'jil, a salt basin at the

foot of a considerable mountain, is ten days' journey with laden camels, and seven with unladen ones going at a swift rate.

1 day. Tagálist, on the northern side of the valley.

$\frac{1}{2}$  day. U'm el bédh.

2 days. Aushish, in the district called Maghtér, consisting of high sandy downs.

$\frac{1}{2}$  day. Bot-há el haye.

$1\frac{1}{2}$  day. El Argiye, the nearest well to the salt lake.

One day S. from the sebkha is the high mount Ijja.

**DD.—Stations on the route between Wadán and Waláta.**

$3\frac{1}{2}$  days. Warán.

1 short. Tésserat-ú-Láhiat.

1 long. Temnakararit.

$1\frac{1}{2}$  day. Ijúfa, all sandy downs.

$1\frac{1}{2}$  day. Akáratín e' sbot and Akáratín el had.

1 day. El Mchámer.

$\frac{1}{2}$  day. El Ksar-rawát.

1 day. Engéwel.

1 day. Agamíyirt.

1 day. Imódhelán; here this route joins the former one.

1 day. Bú-meháye.

1 short. Begére, a dhaya.

$\frac{1}{2}$  day. Shebbi.

$\frac{1}{2}$  day. Keddlámu.

$\frac{1}{2}$  day. Warúsh.

1 short. El Atilt (El Ethelet?) seráye.

1 short. Rek E'rdhedhír.

1 long. El Ogúdh el himmál.

1 day. Rodh el hamra.

1 day. El Felásh.

1 day. El Derrúmbekát.

$\frac{1}{2}$  day. Waláta.



**EE.—Stations between Wadán and El Khat, by a circuitous route.**

1 short day. Tanúshirt, a hasi, with date trees. "Tanú" means yale.

1 day. A'herúr.

4 days. A'wakan. This part of the road passes through a desert tract without wells, called Táyarát Idáw el Háj.

1 day. Sharaníye.

1 day. Hasi el harka.

1 day. Itílen, a mound.

1 day. El Khat, having passed the heat in Bú-Sefíye. El Khat, is a rich valley which I shall say more about in the general account of El Hódh, and a very important locality where most of the routes traversing this region join. A'wakan, which will be mentioned in a following itinerary, is thus tolerably well determined.

**FF.—From Wadán to Rashid, by way of El Khat.\***

1 day. Roj, a well.

1 day. Shingít, an ancient town which has become very famous in the whole of the east on account of its having given its name to all the Arabs of the west. The reason of this is said to be, that a distinguished man, a native of this place of the name of 'Abd e' Rahmán visited the court of Harún e' Rúshid. I shall say more about this place further on.

1 day. Encamp beyond the A'kela without a well.

1 day. Hawéshi.

\* N.B. This itinerary was not made use of for the map of the western part of the desert, which I sent home from Timbúktu.

1 day. Awázgar, (identical with A'wakan?) with a hasi at the foot of the kódia, leaving the small town of A'tar eastward.

1 day. Tákenus and el Khósa.

1 day. El Sharanfyé, a hasi, or well, belonging to the Welád el Wáfi, and still forming part of A'derér e' temar.

1 day. El Khat Smirár, a tract with many wells, but, as it seems, on high ground, from whence Tejígja, Ksar el Barka, Rashíd, and even Tisígi, may be seen.

1 day. Tagánet el bédha.

1 day. Rashíd.

GG.—*From A'tar to Tejígja, or Rashíd.*

N.B.—A'tar is two days E. of Shingít and Ojúft, another ksar or village which is two days S.E. of Shingít, and one day S.S.W. of A'tar. (These data I had not made use of in my map.)

1 day. Tozarótín, with a well or hasi.

1 short. Zeríbe, a dhaye or pond.

1 day. A'ús, difficult march, high kódia.

1 day. A locality a short distance to the south of Shingít.

3 days through the A'kela, without a well; then reach Kíder Wámu, a well three days from Shingít.

1 day. A'wakan, the above-mentioned well.

1 day. Hasi il harka.

1 day. Shwékh, or Khat el Moina, on the south side of the Khat.

1 day. El Laye, a well.

$\frac{1}{2}$  day. Tantúshight.

1 short. Atwél and Awén Tisba.

1 day. E' Nwalík Warzák.

$\frac{1}{2}$  day. Either Tejígja or Rashíd, two villages in Tagánet, the distance of both these places being the same. Tejígja is a place of considerable renown.

### III.—*From Tejiqja to Jáfena or Jáfunú.*

- 2 days. Wedún, with a large dhaye or pond.
- 1 short. Adírg el Mejúj.
- 1 day. Dhú el Rodíye, passing by Daúdad.
- 1 day. E' Nugga.
- $\frac{1}{2}$  day. Korkol, a kódia or hill at the frontier of Tezizzay, between Aúkár and El Kódia.
- $\frac{1}{2}$  day. Gárrugát.
- 1 short. Agúrsh Gasámu.
- 1 day. Gundége nwamélen (wan mellen?) two mountains with hasián.
- 1 day. Kífa, a well or hasi.
- 1 day. U'm el A'khsch, a dhaye or tamurt, surrounded by baobab trees.
- 1 day. Samba-sandíggi, a well, with plenty of sgillem (the dúm-bush) and deléb palms.
- 1 day. Isíl, a dhaye.
- 1 day. Gár-allah, a large dhaye. The district Asúba is south from here.
- 1 day. Erísh.
- 1 day. Elgílte el Khaddra, a large dhaye or pond full of fish.
- 1 day. Encamp in the open country.
- 1 day. Jáfena or Jáfunu, or rather Gúghi or Gúri, the capital of that province, which is four or five days south of Bowár or 'Akerút, a well in Mesíla.

### II.—*Route from Kasr el Barka. — Bú-télimit.*

Kasr el Barka is one short day south-west from Rashíd.

- 1st day. Gébbu, a tamurt or dhaye, where súba or dhurra and wheat is cultivated by the Welád Sídi Haiballa, who usually encamp here.
- 2nd. Tisígi, a short well at the foot of a kódia, from

whence the passes crossing the range of sandhills towards the south are seen.

- 3rd. El Júwelát e' Twáma, two of these passes, either of which you may choose.
- 4th. U'm e' dér, a hasi or well belonging to the district Agán.\*
- 5th. El 'Aíní, a hasi or well.
- 6th. Titárikí or A'sabay, a well about thirty-five fathoms in depth, and the most eastern of "El A'biár," or the deep wells, which have given their name to the whole district called "El A'biár."

Besides the wells here mentioned, the most famous wells of "El A'biár" are the following, all lying west of Aftót:—A'r-éddeke, Bú-Telchíye, Rézelán, Bír el Barka, Dukhn, Bú-Tweríge, Yáre, Bú-Tumbúski. Further to the north-west from Aftót, and at the distance of about two days north from Bú-Tweríge, is a famous well called Bú-télimít, but not to be confounded with the well of the same name mentioned hereafter. In the district of Aftót there are only shallow wells.

- 7th. El Wastha, a deep well, dug in stony ground.
- 8th. Twersát, a group of shallow wells.
- 9th. A well, being the property of a man called E' Sheikh el Kádhi, with an encampment of the Ijéjebó.
- 10th. Tin-dámmer Abél, a well.
- 11th. Bú-télimít, a large well or hasi near the camping grounds of the Brúkena, much frequented. From here Bot-hadíye is said to be only one day and a half distant. If that is the case, the latter must be identical with some place in the "Ile de Morfil."

*KK.—Route from Kasr el Barka to Kahaide.*

- 2nd day. Tésigí, the locality mentioned above.
- 3rd. Létfatúr, a large tamurt or pond.

\* On my MS. map I placed Agán wrong, giving it an intermediate position between Aftót and Asába.

- 4th (long), Agáyar, a well or hasi.
- 5th. Gímí, a hasi, belonging, like the foregoing one, to the district Aftót.
- 6th. Keréni, a hasi.
- 7th. El Wád, a valley without water.
- 8th. El A'rruwa, a hasi.
- 9th. Encamp in the wilderness without water.
- 10th. Shemmáma, a name which is given by the Arabs to the whole district along the north side of the Senegal. You arrive at the river opposite two villages called (by the Arabs) Gúru 'l hajar. 'It seems not to be identical with the Gúri 'l haire of the Fúlbe, as that is one short day from Bakel, while our route evidently follows a far more westerly course, even west of the one which I am about to give.

LI.—*Route from Kahaide to the frontier of Tagúnet, direction N.N.E., according to Háj I'brahím from Kahaide.*

- 1st day. E'njekúdi, or Tisílit Táleb Mahmúd, a well with an encampment of Arabs, called collectively by my informant, Shénagít, and Limtúna.
- 2nd. Monge, a village of the Limtúna, consisting of tents made of camels' hair.
- 3rd. Moyet, another village of the Limtúna, or rather two sections of this once powerful but now degraded Berber tribe, the Dagebámbera (this is probably not their proper name), and the Welád e' Shefúga.
- 4th. Basengíddi, a village inhabited by the Limtúna, the Twabér (a section of the former), El Hejáj, the Rehála, El Héba, and the Welád 'Abd-Allah. The country rather hilly.
- 5th. Wanja, or Jenúr, as you choose, both of them being settlements of Arabs and close to each other. Here live the Tagút, the Idáw el Hassan, the Welád Biyéri, and the Jéjeba; the food of these people consisting of sour milk, dhurra, and fruits. From

this spot you obtain a view of the mountains of Tagánet and Asába.

- 6th. Marde, a well with an encampment of the same tribes as Wanja. The country is hilly and rich in herbage, the mountains or vales being adorned with plenty of trees.
  - 7th. Téri, a pool of stagnant water in the rainy season, while during the dry season only a well is to be found here. The country rather hilly.
  - 8th. A'sherám, a settlement of different tribes. The mountains of Tagánet seem to be quite near.
  - 9th. Tisílit Akerárer, a wadí in a mountainous tract with scattered groups of tents inhabited by Arabs.
  - 10th. Dwenki, a mountain with a pool of stagnant water at its foot, but only in the rainy season; during the dry season only a well is found.
  - 11th. Yogbáshi, a mountain with temporary inhabitants. Few trees.
  - 12th. Nufni, a mountain pass, "the entrance or gate of Tagánet," the mountains being very high.
- From Nufni to Kasr el Barka is a march of two days.

MM.—*Route from Bakel to the frontier of Tagánet by way of Asába.*

- 1st day. Samba-rinji, a considerable place inhabited by Aswánek, and situated in a level tract enclosed between the foot of the mountains and the river.
- 2nd. Hasi Weled 'Alí Bába, a well lying in the vale or depression enclosed between the two mountain ranges, along which your road winds. Kómandó, a considerable Aswánek village lies on a more easterly road.
- 3rd. Hasi Shagár, another well with a camp of Arabs in the dry season.
- 4th. Tektáke, as the place is called by the Arabs, or Bútúmke, as it is called by the Aswánek and Fullán or Fúlbe, the population consisting chiefly of Aswánek.

The village lies in the midst of the mountains ; the houses are built of clay, and a few gardens are cultivated in the neighbourhood, for although there is no running stream, water is said to be found at the depth of only one foot under ground, and the mountains or "gidé," as they are called in Aswáneek, are full of trees. The country nominally under the dominion of Fúta.

- 5th. Jibáli, or, as the name is pronounced by the Arabs, Jubélli, a village situated in the midst of the mountains, at times inhabited, at others deserted. On pursuing your road you cross a mountain ridge, and then wind along a valley. The mountains contain excellent rock for grindstones shaped in quadrangular forms, and like the stone found in the mountains near Mekka.
- 6th. Búnga, an Aswáneek village surrounded by steep rocks ; some gardens are cultivated.
- 7th. Moila, an Aswáneek village. The road keeps always in the mountainous tract.
- 8th. Samma, an Aswáneek village.
- 9th. Tattopútti, formerly a village, but at present deserted.
- 10th. Wákuré, as it is called by the Fullán, or Woló by the natives, a large place situated in a deep valley or irregular vale, the rivulet Gallúla flowing at no great distance towards the W. from the place.
- 11th. Babbu, a village in a mountainous tract.
- 12th. Kachukoróne, another village.
- 13th. Gellél.
- 14th. Garáf Bafál, situated in the midst of the mountains, and being the temporary abode of different wandering tribes.
- 15th. Fúmo-báche, another settlement of that kind.
- 16th. Fúmo-láwel, the same.
- 17th. Nebék, a place of the same nature ; mountainous tract continues.

18th. A'wenet A'r, the beginning of Tagánet, the south-eastern corner of which is here hemmed in by the mountains of Asába.

Asába, according to this informant, is a broad mountain range, diverging as a northern branch from the main range, the general direction of which is towards Bundu, from which country it is separated by the river. The Fúlbe call this mountainous tract "Hairi-n-gar," and the Aswánck call it Gidé.

NN.—*Route from Hamda-Alláhi, the present capital of Músina, to Meshila, and thence to Kahaide, according to Háj I'brahim; route rather winding, and to be controlled by other routes which I have already given.*

1st day. Kunna (see above), a small town, but an important market place, situated originally on the western bank of the máyo balléo, on an island in the Dhiúlíba, enclosed by the máyo balléo, "the blue river," and the máyo dhannéo, or "the white river," but at present built on the eastern shore of the máyo balléo. What is very remarkable, it is said to be inhabited by Songhay. A short march of three hours.

2nd. Núkuma, a place or district situated on the island or "rúde," enclosed by the two branches of the river. Here in the beginning of his career resided Mohammed Lebbo. There seem to be several hamlets, one of which is called Sébbern.

3rd. Tummay, still on the island or rúde.

4th. Sáre-dína, a large place, and evidently one of the first towns converted to Islám in these regions, situated on the western bank of the máyo dhannéo, which you cross here, at half a day's distance E.N.E. of the ancient town Zúgha or Jáka. Inhabitants Songhay.

5th. Tógoró, a group of villages or hamlets, inhabited by the Fullán conquerors. In Tógoró the road divides,



one branch leading N.E. in two short days to Tenéngu, the original capital of Másina, passing by Tumúra, a large district inhabited by Fúlbe.\*

- 6th. Somógiri, a considerable place inhabited by Bámbara of the country.
- 7th. Diggiseré, an important Bámbara town, at some miles distance S.W. from Tenéngu, the road leading to which place, and from thence to Yá-saláme, whither a person may also proceed from Diggiseré (see above), informant has left on his right. Country open, adorned with *zizyphus*.
- 8th. Fetokóle, a small place. The country rich in trees, the principal produce consisting in rice and cotton.
- 9th. Káre, a Bámbara town, governed by an officer of the name of Búgoní. The country hereabouts rich in cattle and camels, but the wells are said to have an enormous depth, according to informant not less than sixty fathoms. Cotton strips are the standard currency of the market.
- 14th. Sókóló, a town inhabited by Bámbara people, but belonging to Másina. Between the two stations you traverse for five days an open country inhabited by Arab tribes, as the Welád Saíd, the Welád 'Alúsh and the Gelágema, and rich in elephants, giraffes, and buffaloes, abundance of water being found in stagnant pools. On the second day of this march you leave the town of Kála on your left.
- 19th. Aláso or Alússa, a place belonging to Bághena, and inhabited by the Welád 'Omrán. The country which you traverse is thickly covered with trees, and is the abode of the Nimádi, a wild set of people, who are stated by my informant to possess nothing but

\* An interesting account of this district is given in Hodgson's "Notes on North Africa," p. 70, from the information of a slave in the United States.

dogs, with which they hunt the large antelope called "bahr el wáhesh" by the Arabs. (The name "Nimádi," is probably not the real name of these people.)

You sleep four nights in the open country.

22nd. Kabúde, a well with temporary settlers. Pass two nights in the open country without a dwelling.

26th. Mú-sáweli, a considerable place of Bághena. You pass on your march several other places, the names of which informant does not remember.

27th. Dáguní, a middle-sized town.

28th. Debúmpa, a large town of Bághena. All the houses are built of clay.

29th. Toróngu, another place of importance.

30th. Tíndi, a small town about seven days N.W. from Kolí, another town of Bághena. Tíndi is inhabited by Aswánek or Swanínki.

31st. Khat e' dem, a temporary dwelling-place of Arabs belonging to the tribes of the Welád Mohammed, the Funti, and the Henún, with the Sheikh Mohammed Fádhel, son of the protector Mukhtár. All the dwellings consist of tents of camels' hair. Khat e' dem forms the beginning of the district called El Hódh.

33rd. Tokko, a large pool of stagnant water, round which there is an encampment of Arabs.

35th. Derís, a dwelling-place of the "White Arabs," as my informant calls them. Many tribes are wandering hereabouts; but almost all the towns are at present in the hands of the Fúlbe or Fullán. Námá, the small town mentioned above as having been built by the Shurfa, is three days E. a little N. from Derís.

37th. Nwal, a well with an encampment of Arabs.

42nd. Tádir, a well with tents of the same.

47th. Líbe, a well of the same character.

50th. Mesíla, a spring of running water at the foot of the

Kódia which surrounds El Hódh. The water of Mesíla is said to run towards the south.

N. B. It must be borne in mind in laying down this route that my informant, a Púllo, wished to avoid the seats of the Welád Mehárek, and therefore followed in his generally northerly direction a very round-about way.

56th. Afülle, or rather an open Arab village in the district so named, the mountainous country having been entered on the fifty-second day. Afülle borders on Kaarta, and its eastern part is inhabited by Bámbara, but the northern portion is inhabited by the following Arab tribes: the Fáta, the Welád e' Násr, the Elkwézi, or Lighwézi, the Askír, the Welád Bóde, and by two tribes of Zuwaye or Merábetín, viz. the Tenwaijió and the Lághelél. Some of the divisions of these tribes are settled in the mountains, while others live in the plain called El Khénashish, rich in pasture-grounds, between which and the mountains there is a small town called Túgguba.

59th. Tiñírgi, a well with Arab settlers. Country mountainous.

62nd. U'mmat el adhám, a well. The last three days no water is found along the road, while in general, even in the tract intervening between two stations marked by my informant, watering-places are occasionally met with.

67th. Kawúl, a lively spring of water. Country mountainous.

73rd. Túgguba, an open village inhabited by Arabs. Many springs in the mountains.

76th. Waya, another Arab village.

78th. Meshíla, called by my informant "rás el Fúta," as the beginning of Fúta (at least in former times).

I now give the route from Meshíla to Kahaide: —

- 1st day. Samóga, a mountain belonging to the mountainous district Asába.
- 2nd. Wákoré, a village inhabited by Aswáneek, but subjected to Fúta as well as to the Zenágħa Arabs, to whom they pay tribute. ●
- 3rd. Galúla, a village inhabited by Aswáneek, and dependent upon Wákoré. It is situated at the foot of a mountain, from the top of which a brook of living water rushes down. This watercourse is called Galúla like the village, and is said to be full of fish.
- 4th. Dé il Kurbán, an Arab settlement on a wádí, with running water during the rainy season, which is said to flow into the Senegal. Country not under cultivation.
- 5th. Jumlaníye, another dwelling-place of the Zenágħa on the same wádí.
- 6th. Wau Sámberlám, a high mountain ridge extending towards Bundu.
- 7th. Gílte, another locality in the same ridge. The country not under cultivation, and only temporarily inhabited after the rains. ●
- 8th. Tashót, a wádí with water in the rainy season. No cultivation.
- 9th. Bú-'Amúd, an open tract of country, the pasture-grounds for the cattle of the Fullán.
- 10th. Tara-múl, a locality on the same wádí. The country full of the large species of antelopes, giraffes, elephants, and buffaloes, and richly clad with large trees.
- 11th. Shillíyul, the same wádí richly adorned with trees. The country nearly level, only broken by a few hills. Abundance of cattle.
- 12th. Sugurére, a Fullán village. Country hilly.
- 13th. Bailabúbi, on the same wádí. The country hilly; nothing but pasture-grounds.

- 14th. **Pittangál**, another settlement of **Fullán** shepherds.
- 15th. **Bogilchéle**, a place of the same description. At this point the **Gurgul balléo**, or black **Gurgul**, a small water course coming from the N. E. in the direction of **Gallúla**, joins the **Gurgul dhannéo**, running from **Akerére** in **Tagánét**, the two forming henceforward a considerable watercourse, at least during the rainy season. According to this informant, the small craft from **Kahaide** can navigate this creek, but of such a communication the French accounts of the Senegal give no indication.
- 16th. **Maktachúchi**, or, as the spot is called in the **Fulfúlde** language, **Lumbírde-chútinkóbe**, a large pool of stagnant water with river horses, and surrounded by fine pasture-grounds. A section of the **Limtúna** are said to cultivate this ground.
- 17th. **Rak Hilhébe**, the plain of **Hilhébe**; property of the **Brákéna**.
- 18th. **Kerfát**, the fields of **Kahaide**.
- 19th. **Kahaide**, on the W. side of a great bend of the Senegal. On your road you pass the large village **Jérilúmburí**.
- I will here add a list of the chief divisions of **Fúta**, including the **Wolof** country, such as **I'brahím** communicated them to me: **Lóre**, **Danga**, **Ferló**, **Nange-hóre**, the centre of **Fúta**, **Toró**, **Walbrek**, **Ndér**, **U'l**, **Niyán**, **Bachúr**, **Kimínta**, **Ballindúngu**, **Sálu**, **Jolóf**, **Kayór**.

OO. — *From Meshúla to Bakel. Very short marches.*

- 1st day. **Samba-sandíggi**, a **wádí** in the wilderness with Arab settlers.
- 2nd. **Dáwodá**, a **wádí**.
- 3rd. **Nakhéle**, settlement of **Sídi Makhmúd** of the **Zenágha**.
- 4th. **Dundumúlli**; few settlers.
- 5th. **Sélefél**, village of **Fúlbe**.

- 6th. Tektáket, all along the valley Mesíla, or Meshíla, which runs to the Senegal.
- 7th. Yóra, village or town of Fúlbe, Aswáneek, and Arabs, dwelling together.
- 8th. Abólli, a hamlet of Arabs, Welád Wési, and Fullán Rungábe, under the chiefs 'Omár Weled Bú-Séfi. Wádi Mangol. Few mountains.
- 9th. Swéna, a hamlet of Fúlbe with a few Arabs.
- 10th. Nahál; one day E. of the town Butti.
- 11th. Báyajám, a small hamlet of Fúlbe Rungábe and Hel Módin Alla.
- 12th. Tíshi, small hamlet.
- 13th. Melge, large village inhabited by Fúlbe and Hel Módin Alla.
- 14th. Village of Chermo-Makkam, who died some time before, when his son Baidal Chermo succeeded him.
- 15th. Dár Saláme, now Aswáneek, formerly Hel Módin Alla.
- 16th. Kídibílló, small hamlet. Aswáneek.
- 17th. Nénechó. Aswáneek.
- 18th. Waigílle, a middle-sized place of Aswáneek. Country level, small hills, many trees, especially the kuddi. Always along the valley Mangol or Mesíla.
- 19th. Kábu, large place of Aswáneek, on the point where the Mesíla joins the Senegal.
- 20th. Láni, considerable place of Aswáneek, on the S. side of the river which you cross.
- 21st. Kotéra, a village of Aswáneek, close to Senegal.
- 22nd. Gúchubel (Gútubé of the French), the point where the Falémé joins the Senegal. On the opposite side lies Yogúnturó.
- 23rd. Arúndu, a village of Aswáneek, having crossed the Falémé.
- 24th. Yáferé, on the Senegal.
- 25th. Golme, Aswáneek under Bundu.
- 26th. Guri 'l haire, Aswáneek.
- 27th. Bakel.

Even beyond Bakel, towards Kahaide, the seats of the Aswánék, Cheddo, or Wákoré extend as far as the isolated mountain Waunde, which lies on the N.E. shore, and that is evidently the reason of this tract on the N. bank of the Senegal being called Gángarn, or Wángarn, the country of the Wákoré.

N.B. The routes from Wadán and Ijil to Sákiel el Hamrah, of which I have collected an itinerary, I refrain from communicating, as they have been in some measure superseded by Panet's route. (*Revue Coloniale*, 1851.)

## APPENDIX II.

### LIST OF THE ARAB OR MOORISH TRIBES SCATTERED OVER THE WESTERN PART OF THE DESERT, ACCORDING TO THE DISTRICTS OR NATURAL DIVISIONS OF THE DESERT IN WHICH THEY ARE SETTLED.

THE original inhabitants of these regions, at least since the middle of the eighth century of our era, were the Berbers, especially the Zenágha, or Senhája; but these tribes, since the end of the fifteenth century, it would seem, have been pushed back, and partly conquered by the Arab tribes to the south of Morocco and Algeria, who either intermingled with them or reduced them to a degraded position. Thus there are especially four classes of tribes,—the free warlike tribes, 'Aráb, or Harár; the Zuwaye, or peaceable tribes; the Khóddemán, or Lahme, identical in the south-western quarter with the name Zenágha, the degraded tribes; and the Hárratín, or the mixed stock. The characteristic feature of these Moorish tribes is the guffa, or full tuft of hair; that of the Zenágha the peculiar fashion of wearing the hair called gatúya, as they cut the hair on both sides of the head, and leave nothing but a crest on the crown, from whence a single tress hangs down sometimes to their very feet, or they tie the ends round their waist.

The supposed ancestor of the Moorish tribes is Odé ben Hassan ben A'kil, of the tribe of the Rátáfán, who is supposed to have come from Egypt.

#### I. — ARAB TRIBES IN BÁGHENA.

The Welád Mebárek (sing. Mebárki), divided into the following sections:—



A'hel 'Omár Welád 'Alí.  
 A hel Hennúm (e' Shiúkh).

Fáta, separated into the following divisions : —

Welád Monún.  
 Welád Dokhanán.  
 A'hel Bú Séf.

Fúnti, separated into the following divisions : —

Welád Hammu el kohol.  
 A'hel Hammu el biadh.  
 • A'hel Múmmu.  
 A'hel Sidi I'brahím.  
 Welád Zenághi.  
 A'hel 'Omár Shemáti.

The following tribes are in a state of dependence upon them, or are, as it is called, their *lahme*, or their *khóddemán* : —

Idábuk.  
 Ifoléden.  
 A'hel 'Abd el Wáhed. •  
 El Hárratín (no proper name).  
 El Mehájeriyín, these only partly degraded.  
 Yadás.

Welád el 'Alía,  
 A'hel A'hmed Hennún,

whose *khóddemán* are the following tribes : —

El Rowasíl.  
 Welád Sálem.  
 Basím.  
 I'shalán.

Welád Bille, the brethren of the Welád Bille in Tishít, formerly Arabs (that is to say), free independent Arabs, but at present *khóddemán*, paying, however, only the *medúriye*, and not the *keráma*.

El 'Abedát.

A'hel Udéka.

Next to the large group of the Welád Mebárek, are, —

The Welád Mazúk, living in the ksúr together with the Welád 'Omár.

Then the E'rmetút and the Náj; while in a degraded state are —

El Shébahín, and

El Habášha.

This is the place to mention a particular group or confederation of warlike tribes called "El Imgháfera," or Megháfera, and consisting of the

Welád el 'Alía.

Fáta.

Abedát.

Welád Mazúk.

A'hel e' Zenághi.

A'hel 'Omár Shemáti.

#### I a.—ZUWAYE, OR MERÁBETÍN, IN BÁGHENA.

The Teghdáust, a mixed tribe, but considered as Arabs:—

The Edésan.

Gelágema.

Idú Belál in Bághena, as well as in El Hódh.

Tafulálet, said to have nothing in common with Tafilélet.

Gesíma, living partly in Bághena, partly in El Hódh, and divided into the following sections:—

Welád Túleb.

Idáw-'Esh.

Welád 'Abd el Melek.

Ténagít.

El Arusíyín, a tribe very powerful in ancient times, to

whom belonged Shenán el Arúsi, the famous despot of  
Waláta and Tezúght.

E' Nwazír.

A'hel Táleb Mohammed.

Tenwaijío, who collect the gum and bring it to the Euro-  
pean settlements, separated into the following divisions: —

A'hel Yíntit.

Ijáj Búrke.

A'hel Bábí.

A'hel I'brahím e' Shiúkh, held in great veneration.

These four divisions live in Bághena, while the two fol-  
lowing are scattered over the district called Ergébe, where  
the Tenwaijío are very numerous: —

Welád Delém ma intis (*sic.*).

Welád Bú Mohammed.

Zemárik, separated into numerous divisions: —

Welád Músa.

El Horsh.

El Hárebát.

Jewaule.

El Mekhainze.

Ardél.

Welád Shéfu.

El A'thamín.

Welád 'Aleyát.

A'hel Dombi.

A'hel 'Abd; these the Shiúkh.

A'hel e' Shegér.

Welád e' Dhíb.

E' Zemárik (properly so called) very numerous.

Between Bághena and Tagúnet live the Welád Lighwézi,  
the relatives, but likewise the enemies, of the Welád Mebárek.

## II.—MOORISH TRIBES IN EL HÓDH.

El Hódh, is a large and extensive district, which has received this name, "the basin," from the Arabs, on account of its being surrounded by a range of rocky hills, "el Kódia," at the western foot of the eastern extremity of which lies Waláta, and near its southern foot Tishít, both of which belong to El Hódh. The N.E. part of this district, which some centuries ago was densely covered with small towns and villages, stretching from half a day S. from Waláta, to a distance of about three days, and being enclosed on the W. and E. by "ellib," or light sandhills, is called *A'rik*, and is rich in wells, among which the following are the best known:—El Kedáye, Unkúsa, Bú-il-gedúr, Nejám, A'we-tofén, El Imbediyát, El Mebdúya, Bú-'Ash, Rújat, Teshimmámet, Tekiffí, Nwaiyár, Tanwallít, and not far from it, Aréngis el tellíye, and Aréngis el giblíye, Tunbuske, N. from the large well Nwál, mentioned above, El Beddá Umme e' Dúggemán, &c.

From A'rik, S.W. as far as Mesíla, extends the district called *Ajaúmera*, to which belongs the famous well El U'g-gela, called "surret el Hódh," on account of its being at an equal distance—viz. five days—from Tishít, Waláta, Tagánet, and Búghena. Besides these, some of the most famous wells of this district are Ajwér, almost at its northern extremity, Fógis, Bú-Derge, Bír el Hawáshar, Ajósh, Gunnëu, El Beádh, these latter near Ergébe. The N. border of El Hódh, stretching along the base of the kódia between Waláta and Tishít, is called *El Batn*. There are besides several districts in El Hódh called Aukár, a Berber name identical with A'kela, and meaning a waterless district, consisting of isolated sandhills. One Aukár, perhaps that meant by El Bekrí in his description of Ghánata, lies a short distance west from Waláta, near Tezúght; another district of this name lies between Tishít and Mesíla, to the north of Ajaúmera. I now proceed to enumerate the tribes settled in El Hódh.

The A'gelúl, in several sections, viz.:—

Welád A'hmed, subdivided into the following divisions  
or "lefkhát":—

A'hel Táleb Jiddu.

A'hel Khalífa.

A'hel A'hmed e' Táleb.

A'hel Táleb Sídi A'hmed.

Wed (*sic.*) Yebúí.

Welád Sídi	{	El Kóbetát.
		A'hel Malúm.
		A'hel Ismáíl, the Soltana.
		El A'mera.

Welád Músa, subdivided as follows:—

Welád Háj 'Abd e' Rahmán.

Welád Háj el Amín.

Welád Músa, properly so called.

Welád Melek, subdivided:—

A'hel 'Abd-Alláhi Weled Táleb I'brahím.

A'hel Háj A'hmedu.

A'hel Boghádíje.

The Welád Mohammed of Waláta, in several sections,  
of whom a great part originates from Tishít, while  
the sheikh family belongs originally to the Bidúkel.  
Their present chief is 'Alí Weled Nawári el Kuntawi,  
whose mother is the daughter of the sheikh of the  
Legás.

A'hel Tíki.

Welád Legás e' Shiúkh.

Lemwalísh.

Welád e' dhíb.

Targálet.

Derágela, belonging originally to the Brákena.

Welád el Mojúr.

Welád el horma.

Sekákena.

A'hel e' Táleb Mustuf, a family of "tolbá."

I'de Músa.

Welád Aili.

Welád Alú.

Welád Sćkie.

Lúkarát.

The Welád e' Násir, very powerful, and divided into the following sections:—

Welád 'Abd el Kerím Weled Mohammed el Mátúk, with Bakr Weled Senébe as their chief.

Welád Masáúd Weled Mátúk, subdivided:—

El A'yasát.

El I'kemámra.

Berársha.

Ghéraber.

A'hel Músa, the Shiúkh, with the powerful chief 'Othmán el Habíb.

Welád Yábia Weled Mátúk.

Welád Mohammed Weled Mátúk.

The Jáfera, the "jim" pronounced like the French *j* in *jour*.

The 'Atarís, here and in Bághena.

The I'jumán, divided into several sections, of which I only learnt the names of three:—

I'jumán el 'Arab.

I'jumán e' tolbu.

A'hel Mohammed.

The Méschedúf, not independent, and, as it seems, of almost pure Berber origin, and a section of the Limtúna, being, most probably, identical with the Masúfa, a Berber tribe so often mentioned by the Arab writers, such as El Bekrí, E'bn Batúta, &c., as settled between Sijilmássa and Timbúktu. They are divided into several sections:—

Lahmennád.

Welád Mahám.

Ujenábje, and others, as the Welád Yónza.

The Lágballál, a considerable tribe, divided into five khomáís.

### III.—MOORISH TRIBES IN TAGÁNET.

Tagánet is a large and well-favoured district, bordering towards the E. and S.E. on El Hódh, or rather the kódiá encircling and forming El Hódh; towards the S.W., where there is a considerable group of mountains bordering on Aftót, by which it is separated from Fúta, and towards the W., or W.N.W., separated from A'derár by ranges of hills running parallel to each other, called "e' dhelóa," or "the ribs." Tagánet—evidently a Berber name, contrasting as a correlative with the name A'gan—is divided by nature into two distinct regions, viz. Tagánet el káhela, or Black Tagánet, comprehending the southern part of it, and consisting of fertile valleys, full of palm-trees, nebek, &c., excellent for the breeding of cattle and sheep, but infested by numbers of lions and elephants, while it is fit for the camel only in the dry season; and Tagánet el bédha, White Tagánet, called in Azériye, or the language of Tishít, "Gér e' külle," consisting of white desert sand, with excellent food for the camel, and with plantations of palm-trees in a few favoured spots, which contain the villages, or ksúr.

Of these there are three:—

Tejígja, four days W.N.W. from Tishít, inhabited by the Idáw 'Alí and the Ghállí.

Rashíd, one day from Tejígja, W.N.W., in the possession of the Kunta.

Kasr el Barka, the most considerable of the three, two days W.S.W. from Tejígja, and three days from the mountain-pass Nufni, which gives access to it by way of Aftót, likewise inhabited by the Kunta, who are

the travelling merchants of this part of the desert, and supply Shinghít, and all those quarters.

Besides these three ksúr, there is, at the distance of one day from Tejígja, and three days from Tishít, another plantation of date-trees, but without a ksar, called El Gobbu, or El Kubba, from the sanctuary of a Weli of the name of 'Abd-Allah, and belonging to the Idáw 'Alí.

As for the Arab tribes not settled in the ksúr, but wandering about in Tagánet, there are first to mention:—

The Zenágha, or Senhája, or Idáw-'Aísh, a mixed Berber tribe, who form a conspicuous group in the history of this part of Africa, and have been the principal actors also in the destruction of the empire of the Rumá or Ermá. They are at present divided into several sections, all called after the sons and grandsons of Mohammed Shén, a fanatic man, who arose among this tribe a little more than a century ago, and usurped the chieftainship. His eldest son Mohammed, who succeeded him, left at his death the office of chief vacant, when there arose a sanguinary civil war between his brother Mukhtár, whose partisans were called Sheratít, and his eldest son, Swéd A'hmed, and his party, who were called Abakák, from the red fruits of the talha, on which they were obliged to subsist. The latter having at length gained the upper hand, killed all his uncles, and was succeeded after his death by his son Bakr, who is ruling at the present time. The chief of the Sheratít is E' Rasúl Weled 'Alí Weled Mohammed Shén.

Hel 'Omár Weled Mohammed Shén, the Soltana kabíla of the Zenágha, subdivided as follows:—

Hel 'Alí Bába Weled 'Omár.

Bú-Bakr Weled 'Omár.

Rasúl Weled 'Omár.

Hel 'Alí Weled Mohammed Shén.



A'hel Swéd; this is the strongest of the divisions  
of the Zenágha.

A'hel Resúl Weled Alimbugga.

Hel Bakr Weled Mohammed Shén. •

A'hel Resúl Weled Mohammed Shén. •

Besides these, there are also the sons of Mohammed e' Sghír,  
viz. :—

Mohammed,	'Alí,
Mukhtár,	Sídi el Amín, •
Bú-Séf,	Hennún,

who have given their names to various sections of the great tribe of the Zenágha. In consequence of their intestine feuds, however, this tribe has sunk from the first rank which they occupied amongst all the Arab tribes; for, though decidedly of Berber origin, they are yet considered as Arabs, owing to the tongue which they now speak.

The Kunta, part of this widely scattered tribe, distinguished by their learning and their sanctity, and divided, as far as they live in Tagánet, into the following sections :—

Welád Bú-Séf, the most warlike tribe of the Kunta.

Welád Sídi Bú-Bakr.

Welád Sídi Haiballa (properly Habíb-Alláhi), subdivided :—

El Nogúdh.

Welád el Bah.

E'rkabát, these latter being probably the tribe found, according to Scott's statement, not far from the N.W. shores of Lake Débu, and who cannot be the E'rgebát, as Mr. Cooley suspects, who never leave their homes in El Gáda. Else Scott never saw that lake.

Welád Sídi Wáfi, subdivided as follows :—

Welád Sídi Bú-Bakr el kúhel.

Welád Sídi Bú-Bakr el bédh.

IV.—MOORISH TRIBES IN A'DERÉR.

A'derér is a rather elevated district, composed of sandhills grouped round a considerable range of hills, as its name, meaning the mountain range, indicates, which is the same as that of the district lying between A'zawúl and A'ír, being distinguished from it only by a slight difference in the pronunciation. It is encircled towards the north by the awful zone of immense sandhills, called "Maghtér," and towards the south by another similar, but less sterile girdle, called "Warún," both these districts joining towards the east of A'derér, at a point called "El Gelám," at the distance of six days from Wadán, in going from east to west:—Met-weshtíye, first day; Máderás hasi, second; Amasít, third; Zwíri wén Zwemra, fourth; Wadán, sixth day, having passed a good many wells. Between A'derér and El Hódh, and separated from that district of El Hódh which is called El Batn, by a range of hills to the north of Tagánet, there is a very extensive valley, or valley-plain, called Khat e' dem, running, as it seems, about east and west, along the northern foot of the ridge of A'derér, at the south foot of which lies El Hódh, with abundance of wells, and even a couple of ksúr, or perpetually inhabited villages. The following is a list of a few of these localities:—

Mochénge, shallow well, with a ksar belonging to the Gesíma. Béle, well, and ksar inhabited by Bámbara (As-wánek?). These on the south side of the Khat, where there are a great number of shallow but full wells, of which the group called Khat el Moina is one of the most considerable. In the middle course of the Khat there is O'faní, a large dhaye, or tank; Fetéle, Kébi, Zorúgo, all tanks; but the largest of these tanks is U'm el Medék, which lies on the road from the celebrated Bír Nwál to Wadán, then Twésh-tair and El Bahéra, also large tanks; on the west side of the Khat there is the large well Tishti. The breadth of this celebrated valley, with whose excellency the wandering Arab

is as much enchanted as a European is with the most romantic spots of Switzerland and Italy, is indicated by the distance of three days between the well Tálemist and the famous well Bú-Sefiye, on the road from Tishít to Wadán.

A'derér, according to the different nature of its various parts, is divided into "A'derér e' temar," and "Aderér suttuf." In A'derér Proper there are four ksúr, or towns, the most considerable of which, and the only one known in Europe, is Wadán, a town smaller than Tishít, but at least, till recently, when it has likewise suffered from intestine broils, better inhabited than the latter, and was evidently so, even in the first half of the sixteenth century, when the Portuguese established here a factory for a couple of years. Wadán, as well as Tishít, was originally a place of the Azér, and the Azeriye is still the language of its indigenous inhabitants. It has besides, a considerable Arab population belonging to the following tribes:—

El Arzázir.

Idáw el Háj, probably the founders of the empire of Ghánata, a tribe of great importance in the history of African civilization, and divided into the following sections, as far as they live in A'derér:—

A'hel Sidi Makhmúd, the Soltana tribe, to whom belongs the chief of Wadán, 'Abd Allah W. Sidi Makhmúd.

Idé Yakób.

Síyám.

A'hel el Imám.

While two other sections of them live in Ergébe, viz.:—

El U'tetád.

El Idó-Gejá.

- As for the Rayán in Wadán, they are the khóddenmán of the Idáw el Háj.

The Medráंबरín, one of the tribes of the Kunta.

Wadán has a pretty plantation of date-trees of different

sorts, of better quality than those of Tishít, and the names of which are as follow:—Sekáni, Tennasídi, El Hommor, Tigí-birt, Owetérdel, Bézal el Bagra.

The town, composed of houses built of stone and mud, lies on the east side of the valley, on stony and elevated ground, Its population does certainly not exceed 5000, who supply themselves with necessaries from Tishít, as they do not seem to frequent in person the market of Nyámina, or other places.

*Shinghit*, a small place built of stone, the same size as the town of Dál in Bághena, two days S.W. from Wadán\*, which has obtained a great name in the East, all the Arabs of the western desert being called after it. *Shinghit*, situated in the midst of small sandhills, where a little salt is found, has a handsome plantation of date-trees, where the *tiggedirt* and the *sukkán* are produced. It seems to have no Negro population, all the inhabitants being Arabs belonging to the following tribes:—

Welád Jáhé ben 'Othmán, divided into the following sections:—

Welád 'Othmán, to whom belongs the despotic chief of the town called A'hmed ben Sídi A'hmed ben 'Othmán.

El A'wesiát, who speak the dialect of the Zenágha, and have a chief of their own.

E' Reilán.

Welád Bú Láhie,

Welád E'gshar.

Idáw 'Alí.

*A'tar*, a well inhabited little town or ksar, said by some to be larger than *Shinghit*, situated two days nearly E. from the

\* The position of these places, as laid down in my original map, had to be changed a little from my own data given in the itineraries, and from the data of M. Panet's route to *Shinghit*, published in the "Revue Coloniale," 1851.

latter place, the track descending along the district called El O's, where date trees and water are met with in several spots. A'tar lies at the foot of a kódia, where the water collects, feeding a small plantation of date trees. No negroes.

*Ojúst*, a ksar not so well inhabited as the two foregoing ones, two days S. E. from Shinghít, and one from A'tar S.S.W., likewise with a palm grove. Its principal inhabitants are E' Smésid or Smásida, Zwaye. The inhabitants of *Ojúst*, with the exception of the Smásida, do not travel, but receive every thing by way of Kasr el Barka, where the people carry on some trade.

Besides the Arab tribes mentioned as living partially in the ksúr, there are still the following tribes to be mentioned as having their encampments principally or exclusively in A'derér.

The Tájakánt are regarded as belonging to the Himyáritic stock, and wear the gubba; they are a large tribe, and are of great importance in the whole commerce between the W. part of Morocco, or "E' Sâhel," and Timbúktu, which is entirely in their hands. At present, in consequence of their feud with the E'rgelâát, they are embroiled in a civil war among themselves, while with the Kunta they are at peace. I mention them here with regard to A'derér, though, as far as they are settled in this district, they have been greatly weakened, and part of them at least seem to have their principal abode in Gídi; they wander also in El Gíblah. With Tagúnet, with which place their name has been connected, they have nothing whatever to do. Tájakánt is the collective form, a single individual being called Jakáni, fem. Jakaníye. Their chief is the Merábet Mohammed el Mukhtár, an excellent man. They are divided into the following sections: —

E' Rumadhín or El Armadhín, subdivided: —

    'Aín el Kohol.

    Welâd Sídi el Hâj.

    El Msaid.

    Welâd Sáíd.

Welád Músáni in two divisions, whose names I did not learn.

El U'jarát.

A'hel e' sherh.

Dríwa.

The three latter tribes form at present one faction of the Tájakánt, the two preceding, together with the Merübet, the other. Altogether they are certainly able to bring into the field 2000 muskets, but they do not appear to be strong in cavalry.

The Sidi Mohammed, another division of the Kunta.

In general the Kunta and the Welád e' Násir form one group in opposition to the Tájakánt, Idáw el Háj, and the Zenágha.

#### V.—MOORISH TRIBES IN EL GIBLAH AND IN SHEMMÁMAH.

The whole tract of the desert between A'derér and the sea, in a wide sense, is called Tíris, but in a proper and restricted one, this name is applied only to the northern part of it, the middle tract of it being called "Magh-tér," and the southern one "El Giblah;" but care must be taken not to confound this district with what the Arabs of A'zawád and Timbúktu call "El Giblah," with which very vague name, signifying in their dialect "the west," they indicate all that part of the desert W. of them from Waláta as far as the sea. El Giblah is bordered towards the N. by Magh-tér, towards the E. by A'derér, towards the S.E. by El Abiár, and towards the S. by the Senegal; this more favoured southern tract, however, bearing the particular name of Shemmámah, is covered with thick forests of the gum tree while another portion of it, consisting of ranges of sandhills, is called Igídi or E' Swéhel. El Giblah, as well as all Tíris, has no permanent wells, being extremely dry and sterile, but in the rainy season water is found just under the surface. A few of the most remarkable expressions of the idiom of the Arabs of the Giblah are:—sengetti, dukno; tefangurút } kohemmi;  
tajimákhet }

nísha : hasse ; áganát : busúsu ; adelagán, dúnguri ; tarer, hoy, a kind of vegetables ; ghursh, hak ; sofif, cleverness ; asúfaf, clever ; likshásha, large calabash ; bishena, sába ; mutteri, héní ; tasáret, mat of reed ; tarzay, pl. terziyaten, awéba ; smángeli, I have forgotten, it has escaped me ; selli, let this talk.

The Brákena, a large tribe, levying tribute on the harbours of Bot-hadíye, but at present greatly reduced, have partly become the khóddemán and lahme of the more successful Terárza (a name totally distinct from Tegháza). They are divided into several sections : —

A'hel Agréshi, the Soltana tribe.

A'hel Weled 'Abd Allah, all the sections of the Brákena being derived from this 'Abd Allah, son of Kerúm.

Welád Síd.

Welád Bakr.

Welád 'Aíd, formerly very powerful, at present "lahme."

Welád Mansúr.

Welád Nurmásh.

Welád A'hmedu.

A'hel Mehémedát.

Welád Á'gram, and perhaps others.

The Terárza, a powerful tribe, with Mohammed el Hábíb Weled 'Omár Weled el Mukhtár as chief, in two great sections : —

Welád A'hmed ben Damán.

Welád Damán.

The names of the several sub-divisions into which both these sections fall, I was unable to make out with certainty, with the exception of the name of that division of the former section to which belongs Mohammed el Hábíb, they being called : —

A'hel 'Omár Weled el Mukhtár.

The Elleb, a considerable tribe, who seem to have some sort of relation with the Terárza, while the Erháhela are in a state of dependence upon them.

The Welád Abéri or Abiyéri, a powerful tribe with a respected chief called "El Sheikh Sadiye," who resides generally near the well Bú-Telimít, mentioned above as belonging to the district El A'biár, and distant about seven days S.W. from Wadán and nine from Ojúft.

The Temékket: —

Idáw el Hassan.

Idejfúga.

Ijéjebó.

Tenderár.

Teshínsha.

El Bárek-Allah.

Limtúna, who are likewise still numerous in Aftót, speaking Arabic. Other sections of the Limtúna, but who are now scattered over various portions of the desert, are, besides the Méshedúf: the Idé-lebó, belonging to the group of Shemman-A'mmas, the Idé-silli, the Udéshen, the Bedúkel or Ibedúkel, the Lédem, Twabér and the Welád Molúk.

#### VI.—MOORISH TRIBES IN MAGH-TÉR AND TÍRIS.

Tíris—a word meaning in Temáshight the shallow well—is separated from El Giblih, as I have stated above, by Magh-tér, a girdle of immense sandhills stretching almost from the sea-shore as far east as five days beyond Wadán, and varying in breadth from three to five days. Tíris is very much of the same nature as El Giblih, being destitute of water in the dry season, but presenting sufficient herbage for the camel; however, the whole tract does not present one and the same character, the western part, or "Tíris el Khawára," being much dryer than the eastern portion, which extends from the hasi "El Auj," to near I'jil, and is called "Tíris el Firár." In these two districts, there cannot be any permanent dwelling-places, but there are two localities worth mentioning, which occasionally become the scenes of much life and bustle. These are the harbour called A'gadír Dóme and the sebkha of I'jil. The



former, being called by the Europeans "Arguin," and seeming to be identical with the place called Welíli by the Arab writers, when visited by a European vessel attracts numbers of Arabs, principally of the tribe called Malzen, between whom and the strangers the Démesút act as brokers. As for the "sebkha" of I'jil, which was discovered it is said about sixty years ago, it seems to lie in an opening of the sandhills of Magh-tér, which have to be crossed in coming from Wadán as well as from Sákiel el Hamra, having, at some distance towards the south, a high mountain, on whose top some holy person, who was certainly an impostor, is said to have seen a grove of palm-trees. It lies about half-way between Wadán and Agadí, and has rich layers of salt of a good quality, but of black colour, probably of a similar kind to the fourth stratum in Taödénni, called "El Káhela;" but there being no fresh water nearer than a good day's distance, at El Argíye, there is no permanent settlement here, and the Arabs belonging to different tribes, who come in considerable numbers for the salt, endeavour to get off as quickly as possible. The Sheikh Síli Mohammed El Kuntawi, who generally has his residence near the well Siláti, exercises a sort of supremacy over the sebkha, and levies a small tribute on those who carry away the salt. Besides the sebkha of I'jil there seems to be hereabout, perhaps nearer the sea, another sebkha, called U'm El Khashéb, and belonging to the Welád Haye Ben 'Othmán, but its exact position I have not been able to make out. Among the Arab tribes wandering about in Tíris and Magh-tér, and the adjoining districts, first of all must be mentioned the Welád Delém, which tribe seems to be the most numerous of all the tribes of the desert.

Welád Delém being classed into two groups, at least by the Arabs of A'zawád, called Welád Máref and Delém el A'hmar. To the former group belong the following three tribes:—

Welád Molád, the most numerous section of the W.

Delém, but ill-famed on account of their robberies, living also in Gídi. They are subdivided as follows:—

Welád Bú-Karsíye, to whom belongs the chief of the whole section, Hennún Welád Twéta.

El Hamáya, with a chief of their own, El Fádhel Welád Shwén.

E' Sheháli, with a chief, the son of Allád.

Welád Sháker.

Welád Bú Hínde, who do not live in Tírís, but in A'zawád.

Sekárna, also in several divisions, the name of none of which became known to me, except that of the A'hel Déde, who are the Shiúkh.

Welád Sálem, with the chief, Mohammed Weled 'Omár, living here or in Gídi.

To the Delém el A'lmár belong the following:—

El O'dekát, the Soltana tribe of the Welád Delém, whose famous chief, A'hmed Weled Mohammed el Fodél, died a few years ago at the age of 120, it is said.

They are subdivided into the following divisions:—

Welád e' Shíya.

Welád Mansúr.

Welád Alláb.

Welád Ermithíye.

Serákhna.

Welád Tagéddi.

Welád Shwékh.

Welád Bú 'Omár, whose Shiúkh section are said to be the A'hel 'Omár Weled e' Sheikh Umbréhi.

Welád el Khaléga (?), with the Shiúkh section A'hel 'Omár Weled Barka.

Welád Siddúm.

Lógora?

Welád Tédrarín in several (ten?) sections, all paying tribute to the Welád Delém.

Welád Yoáza (يَعَزُ), allied with the Medráamberín, most of whom live in Tíris. They are a powerful tribe, and fight against the Welád Delém. They do not wander much, and are partly under the rule of A'hmed Sídi, Weled Sídi Mohammed, partly under that of Sidáti.

Tóbalt.

Lémmier.

Shébahín, the kinsfolk of those in El Hódh.

Welád 'Abd el Wáhed.

El Arúsíyín, the allies of the tribe of the same name.

Imerágen, a very poor sort of people and of bad character, living near the sea-shore.

More exclusively, with regard to Magh-tér, are to be mentioned: —

A'hel Etfága.

El Khatát.

Welád el Háj Mukhtár.

#### VII. — MOORISH TRIBES IN EL GÁDA, AZEMMÚR, EL HÁHA, ERGSHÉSH, GÍDI, AND THE ADJOINING DISTRICTS.

These districts, which I treat in one chapter merely on account of the scanty and imperfect information which as yet I have been able to collect with regard to them, comprise a large tract of country in the N.W. quarter of the desert, and are of very different character. El Gáda lies between Tíris and Wádí Nún, being separated from the latter by the smaller district called Shebéka, and seems to bear almost the same character as Tíris. But it appears to be divided into two different portions, one of which is called "El Mirkh," and the other "El Bédh." Gáda in a certain respect forms part of the larger district called Azemmúr. The most celebrated localities of this district are: Meskór, A'zafay, A'geshár, Míjik; from here N.E. Asumárik, Tasu-

márit, El Genáter, Zúdenás, Bésharíf, Kedáye-Yetséllem, El Bellebúna, Stélet bel Girdán, I'shírgán, Agárzezís, with the sebkhá Abána, U'm el Roesén, el Méhajíb.

The principal Arab tribes living in Gáda are —

The E'rgebút, a large and powerful tribe in several sections, living, in "El Gáda," as well as in Zíni, a district bordering on the E. side of El Gáda.

Welúd Músa, } these two the Soltana sections.  
E'thalát,

El Gwásem.

El 'Aíl-'Esha or A'hel 'Esh.

Welúd Mohammed ben 'Abd-Allah, and several others.

In Shebéka there are to be mentioned principally the Zergiyín belonging to the Tíkkena.

Yegút.

Wetúsa.

East from Shebéka, N.E. from Zíni, and N. from the Wádi Sákiel el Hamra, inhabited by the Welál Bú-Seba, there extends the large district called *El Húha*, principally inhabited by the powerful tribe of

El 'Aúríb, who are said to have as many as 1000 horse, and who are the enemies of the Duwéména and the Idáu Belál. They are divided into several sections, viz. —

Legerádeba, about two hundred.

El Bwadín, about the same number.

El Gwásem (the Shiúkh), about forty.

E' Nwaiji, the Tolba.

Námena.

El Renáneba.

Ziyút.

Sídi 'Alí.           r(?)

Medíni.

Mbáha.

Besides the 'Aúrīb, the district of El Háha is inhabited by the Limtúna, especially the Idáu-I'dderen, and, according to some informants, the Berber element seems to predominate entirely.

El Háha appears to be limited towards the east by *Gídi* or *Igúli*, a girdle of high sandhills, about one and a half to two days in breadth, and rich in palm-trees, yielding a good sort of date, called "jéhe." *Gídi*, at the distance of twenty days east from the principal encampment in Sákiel El Hamra, stretches W.S.W. in the direction of Tishít, from which place its south western end is separated by a naked desert or "meraye" of about ten days. *Gídi* has no regular inhabitants, the Tájakánt, the Welád Molád, and especially the Kunta, visiting it annually and staying some time in order to gather the dates.\*

To the S.E. of *Igídi* is the district *E'rgshésh*, separated from it by the smaller districts called *Aftót* and *El Kart*, the former one being a narrow girdle only half a day broad, and consisting of white and black soil, while *El Kart*, adjoining *Aftót* towards the west, is about one day's journey in breadth, and exhibits an even surface covered with pebbles and much herbage. *E'rgshésh* is a long and narrow girdle of sandhills, which stretches out in the direction from Tawát to Warán, and passing at no great distance to the west of Taödénni, joins Magh-tér, or rather Warán, at the S.W. end. This district, which is similar in its nature to *Gídi*, and not destitute of water between the high sandhills, although not adorned by nature with the equally graceful and useful palm-tree, is only from twenty to thirty miles broad, and is bordered towards the north by the smaller district called *El Hank*, consisting of black vegetable soil, rich in trees, and intersected by rocky hills or kódia. There is in this district a famous spot called Lemezarrúb, with a large group of palm-trees, the fruit

\* At the time when I finished my original map which I sent home from Timbúktu, I had not collected these materials.

of which is gathered by the Kunta, who, however, leave these trees without any cultivation whatever.

On the S.E. side of E'rgshésh lies the district called *El Juf*, to which belongs Taödénni, rich in salt, but almost destitute of herbage, with the exception of the more favoured spot called El Harésha, situated at half a day's distance from Taödénni to the E.N.E., where trees are found. The miserable place called Taödénni, consisting of only a few houses (where, besides the Sheikh Zén, nobody will stay on account of the bad quality of the water), owes its existence to the desertion of Tegaháza about the year 950 of the Hejra. I have spoken of the salt mines of Taödénni in the diary of my stay in Timbúktu: here I will only add that in Taödénni a black tobe purchases four camel-loads of salt or sixteen rús, worth each 3500 or 4000 shells in Timbúktu. Taödénni is distant ten days from Warán, going along E'rgshésh; nine days from Bú-Jebéha; about the same distance from M'amún, W.N.W.; and ten to eleven days from Mabruk, N.W., viz. (going from Mabruk), two and a half days to the well Aníshay, five days to the old well called El Gátara, and three days more to Taödénni.\* El Juf is bordered towards the north by the district called Sáfie, a sort of hammáda, with strips of herbage. In this district wander the Welád Delém, the 'Aárib, the A'turshán, belonging to the tribe of the 'Aídde, and several tribes of the Kunta, principally the Ergágedá, and the Welád el Wáfi; the principal chief also in E'rgshésh, Sídi Mohammed, is a Kuntí.

\* I here give the following data, without being able to connect them: — From Taödénni, one and a half day, Merét; then the same distance, Hasi l'mbedír; Zúgguma, with the 'Aríg Atwéle on its N. frontier, five days; Asedáreb, one day; from here the Dháhar (el Hamár); — three days from Tawát, the hasi Telíg, 7 to 8 fathoms deep.

VIII.—DISTRICTS OF THE SAHARA BETWEEN A'ZAWÁD AND  
TIMBÚKTU ON THE ONE SIDE, AND EL HÓDH AND  
BA'GHENA ON THE OTHER.

Between A'rawán and Waláta there stretches a waterless desert of ten days, consisting of isolated sandhills, between which very good food for the camel is found, and plenty of water-melons, sufficient to quench the thirst of man as well as of the camel. This district, which is nearly of the same character as Magh-tér, is called *A'kela*, and the Kóbetát mentioned above are principally wandering hereabout.

South of the *A'kela* the country is rendered more verdant and fertile by the Niger and its many backwaters, and there is one district especially noted for its pasturage, viz. the famous *Rás el má*, mentioned by me repeatedly, where Arabs, principally the Kunta and Berabísh, with the small remnant of the almost extinguished tribe of the Lansár, and the Welád Sáíd el Borádda, encamp occasionally, and where Zén el 'Abidín, a younger brother of Sheikh A'hmed el Bakáy had for a long time his encampment. There is here also a small village of the Idélebó.

Between the *A'kela* to the N.E., the Dháhar Waláta towards the N.W., and Fermágha towards the S.E., there is the district called *Eríggi*, with a ksar, or small town, called Basikúnnu, mentioned in the preceding volume. *Eríggi* is the chief district of the Welád 'Alúsh, a not very numerous but warlike tribe, which extends its forays over the whole of A'zawád, and is divided into two sections:—

El Khatteerát.

El Elléb.

The Welád 'Alúsh are at present the principal tribe of a large group called *Dáúd*, whose elements I shall enumerate here together, though only a portion of the tribes are living

hereabout, and most of them have been mentioned by me before, in connection with their respective districts.

*El Dáúd, with Sheikh Swédi.*

DÁÚD MOHAMMED.

Welád Bille.	ammed Weled 'Alí En-
Welád Bú-Faida.	hóri.
Welád Talha.	Welád Nahla.
Welád Múmmu, with Mo-	Welád Ghánem.

DÁÚD 'ARÚK.

Welád Zéd, with Nef'a We-	Welád Zayem.
led Kedúdo.	Gésharát.
The Erhámena.	Welád Ber-hén.
Welád 'Alúsh.	Sákeré Daye.
Welád Yúnes.	Welád. Yillwi, and several
Welád Rahmún.	others at present almost ex-
Welád Mazúk.	tinguished.

I shall here also enumerate the tribes composing the group called Ládém, with the Sheikh ———, son of E' Shén:—

A'hel Tíki.  
 A'hel Táleb Mustuf.  
 Dermússa.  
 Légeráf.  
 El A'ragfíb.

Before concluding this list of the Arab tribes, which would be enlivened if historical knowledge were not a thing almost unknown in this part of the world, I shall mention a few tribes who have founded something like an empire in the south part of the so-called desert:—

El 'Arúsíyín, about 600 A.H.



El Erhámena, who wrested the empire from Shenán el 'Arúsi.

Welád Bílle, who having succeeded to the Erhámena, became very rich and powerful, till, as the Arabs say, they destroyed their empire themselves, by provoking the wrath of the Sheikh El Mukhtár el Kebír, about sixty years ago, when their power was crushed by the Meshedúf and the Zenágha.

A smaller empire was founded by the Welád Bú-Faida, who had their principal seats round Kasári in El Hódh, N.W. from Bághena, till they were overpowered by the A'hel e' Zenághi.

The Imóshagh have peculiar names for the Arab localities, calling:—

Gundám . . . . .	Sasáweli.
A'rawán . . . . .	Eshíggaren.
Berabísh . . . . .	Kél-jabériye.
Kunta, or Kuntarár . . .	Kél-borásse.
The 'Arab el Gíblah . . .	Udayen (sing. Uday).

I shall here add an itinerary of the route from Wadán to A'ghadíř Dóme, or, as it is called by the Arabs, e' Dákhela, which I omitted in the right place.

1st day, Selaurísh.

2nd. Shúf.

3rd. El Mórwesín, a kódia.

4th. Dómus, a good well or hasi.

5th. Tenwáke, an úggada, with good water in the rainy season, but brackish during the dry season.

6th. Encamp between Egjir and Rek el Mhón.

7th. Swéta, a locality encompassed by hilly chains or kódia.

8th. Tagazímec, a hasi, 7 fathoms in depth.

- 9th day, Takeshtint, a hasi, 2 fathoms deep.
- 10th. E' Dákhela. The two last days are short marches.  
The village A'ghadír is said to contain from 50 to 60 huts of reed, inhabited by the Imrághen, the chiefs of whom are Weled A'hmed Budde E'bn 'Omár and Mohammed Weled el Mréma.

## APPENDIX III.

SECTIONS AND FAMILIES OF THE GREAT SOUTH-WEST-  
ERLY GROUP OF THE I'MO'SHAGH OR TAWÁ'REK.

As Amóshagh (in the plural form I'móshagh) designates rather in the present state of Tawárek society the free and noble man in opposition to A'mghi (plural, Imghád), the whole of these free and degraded tribes together are better designated by the general term, the "red people," "I'dinet-n-shéggarnén," for which there is another still more general term, viz. "Tíshorén."

The whole group of these south-westerly Tawárek is now generally designated by the name of Awelímmid, Welímmid, or Awelímmiden, the dominating tribe whose supremacy is acknowledged in some way or other by the remainder; and in that respect even the Tademékket are included among the Awelímmiden; but the real stock of the Awelímmiden is very small. The whole group, therefore, in opposition, I think, to the name "Iregenáten," denoting the mixed group of tribes dwelling S. of the Niger, is called "Tegesúsémt."

The original group of the Awelímmiden ("Ulmdn" is the way the name is expressed in Tefínagh) are certainly identical with the Lamta (the t being a hard t, which is continually confounded with the d), the name signifying probably "the children of Lamta," or rather "Limmid;" or the name may originally be an adjective. They dwelt formerly in Igídi near the Welád Delém, a Moorish tribe which has received a great many Berber elements, till they emigrated to A'derár, the country N.E. of Gógó, from whence, as I have stated in the Chronological Tables appended to the preceding volume (p. 579.), under the command of Karidénne, son of Shwásh, or rather Abék, they drove out the Tade-

mékket, at that period the ruling tribe of this whole region. I here give a list of the most common camping grounds in A'lderár: Amásin, 'Araba, Tin-darán, Yúnhan or Gúnhan, c' Súl\* (the last two were formerly the sites of flourishing towns), Ijenshíshen, A'zel adhár, Kidal, regarded often as a separate district, Endeshedait, Taghelíb, Marret, Talábit, Tadakkét, Asway, Anemellen, Ansáttefen, Asheróbbak, Tin-záwatan, Tájemart, Eléwi, Dohéndal, Tinajóla, Enrar, Ejáarak, A'shu, Alkit, Takellút, Dafallíána, Enáfara. The ancestor of the Awel'immiden is said to have been named Síggene, a man of the tribe of the Himyár.\*

I now proceed to give a list of all the tribes belonging to this group, assigning the first place to those who belong to the original stock: —

The Kél-ekímmét, the royal section, or the Kél amanó-kalen, separated, as it would seem, into two subdivisions, one of which is called after Fatíta, and the other, if I am not mistaken, after U'ksem or O'kasem, the son of (ig) Imma, although U'ksem was the father of Fatíta.

The present ruler of the tribe, and thus the lord of this whole group, is Alkúttabu, properly "Kúttub-e'-dín, "Pillar of the Faith," a brother of the late and well known chief E' Nábegha, son of Káwa; and besides him there is Thákkefi, the son of E' Nábegha, and Legáwi or El A'gwi, between whom and the ruling family, there seems to be some little rivalry.

Targhay-tamút (the "u" is not generally expressed in Tefínagh), with the chief Inlehát or Lehát, who likewise rules the tribe of the Tesgógamet. Sometimes

\* Compare the account of A'bú 'Omár E'bn 'Abd el Ber in E'bn Khaldún (trad. par Macguckin de Slane, vol. i. p.174). Síggene, who by my informants is stated to be the ancestor of Lamt, may seem to be identical with Asnag, the ancestor of the Senhája, or Zenágha, with whom the Awel'immiden are intimately related.

also Logáwi is regarded as chief of this tribe. The Targhay-tamút are subdivided into the sections of the Kél-egéuk, the Ikarérayen, the Ihiawen, the Iberekí-ten, the Idammán, the I'segrán, the Kél-tabónnan, the Ishegétan or Ishéggattan, the Ikhérkheen, the Kél-kabáy.

Tahabanát or Tahabanáten with the chief Kásel.

They are subdivided into the —

Tahabanát ikáwelen, T. ishéggarnén, Ibatúnaten (a name which might lead one to infer that the tribe of the same name which at present lives among the degraded tribes of the A'zkar (see Vol. I. p. 235.), originally belonged to this tribe, a state of things which is not at all impossible), Khorímmiden, Taradégha, Tamizgída.\*

Ikhórmeten †, with the chiefs Intagézzut and Eránre.

I'fogas, a section of that widely scattered tribe of which I have already spoken repeatedly. As far as they live with the Awelímmiden, they are governed by the chiefs Innátayen, A'msadúwa, Itkál, and Elrélmú, and are subdivided into the following sections: —

Kél-tebághart, Kél-úthogal, I'karérayen, Ibed-dédawen, Ibbézawen, Tegétik, Kél-télatait, Kél-áseghalt.

Tin-eger-égedesh, with the chief Kaulen, subdivided as follows: —

Ikarnánayen, Kél-takábut, Telghásem, Kél-tikkenén-wen, Tarbédegén, Kél-torfén.

Kél-tegilálet, with the chief Mokaile.

Kél-helwat, or I'd el Mashíl, with the chief Wági.

Sherífen, subdivided into the following sections: — •

\* I will here observe, that most of the vowels which I have to distinguish by an accent, as showing the way of pronouncing the name, are not at all expressed in Tefínagh.

† The name seems to be nearly the same as that of the Khorímmiden.

Kél-temákkeret, Ihéwan-Allen, Kél-rarór, Kél-n-kerémmár, Kél-abánafógal, Kél-tabáriat, Kél-arábbo, Kél-férián, Kél-tefélliant, Kél-inráwe, Kél-gokén.

Edarragágen, with the chief Tawíl.

Edarragágen wuí (or wén) shéjjerotnéen, identical with shéggarnén, Ed. wuí jezzolín.

Ekarabása, subdivided as follows: —

Kél-tikkenéwen (different from the above mentioned tribe of the same name) with Aíbasu ig (the son of) Ranni; Kél-egées with Lawis ig Hawe-Tawát; Tezgógamet, with the chief Hamma-Hamma.

Kél-gasse, with Hamma.

Kél-n-éjúd with Sínnefel in A'ribínda.

Tagagásset or Tagéggésút, with the chief Elláfi, very illfamed as highway robbers.

Ibélghawen, with the chief Adékara.

Erútasán, in ancient times a most powerful and celebrated tribe, from whom Hassan ben A'kil the forefather of the Udáya sprung, but at present reduced and settled on the middle course of the Niger, where I have described them (see p. 279.). Their chiefs are Omár and Mohammed el A'mín.

Túrka, a small fragment of a once powerful tribe, perhaps the Túriká of Arab writers (see Vol. I. p. 226. n. †), at present settled near Sínder on the Niger, where I have mentioned them, with the chief Al-muttu.

Ishedhénharen, with the chief Inteshékhen.

Imelíggizen (mentioned by me on my route along the Niger), with the chiefs Warilkím and Ishawadéna.

Ebaíbaten.

Igwádaren, formerly when they were settled in A'zawád, a still more powerful and totally independent tribe, with the chief A'khbi ben Sálem, who just at the time of my journey, when they were settled near Bamba, attempted to regain his independence from his liege

lord. This tribe is subdivided into the following sections: —

Kél-gógi, the chief's tribe, but having besides A'khbi, another chief of the name of Sadáktu, hostile to the former; Tarabanása, with the chiefs Téní and Wóghdughu; Terféntik; Kél-tebáncorit, with the chief Saúl; Kél-hekíkan, with the chiefs Síllekay, 'Ayúb, Knéha and Zobbi, this little tribe presenting the most striking example of the predatory and anarchical character of these nomadic hordes; Kél-teghá-rart, with the chief Khátem (surnamed or nicknamed by the Arabs El Gherfe); Kél-tabórit, with the chief Khébar (another section of this tribe living with the I'regenáten); the Iwarághen or Aurághen, another section of this widely scattered tribe which, once very powerful, has now lost a great portion of its independence, with the chief Khazza.

Among the Awelímmiden live also the E'he-n-Dabósa, or E'he-n-Eláli, with the chiefs Elákhte, Mushtába, and El Mótelék, originally a section of the Telamédes, a tribe of the Dinnik.

I now proceed to give a list of the degraded tribes, or *Imghád*, of the Awelímmiden and Igwádaren.

Imedídderen, a tribe still very numerous, and not quite so much degraded in the social life of these regions as the other tribes, possessing even a good many horses, but formerly distinguished by their power\* as well as by their learning. It was this tribe, together with the I'denán, who founded the first settlement at the place where, in course of time, the city of Timbúktu arose. Their chiefs are Béle, El U'ssere, and Khayár.

They are subdivided into a great many sections: —

\* To the Imedídderen belonged Kosélete, the warrior who slew 'Ukba el Mústajáb, the great Mohammedan hero in the history of the conquest of Africa.

Kél-gósi, the most warlike section, with the chief El Khatír, whom I have mentioned repeatedly. They are warlike, and maintain especially a struggle against the governor of Hómbori. — Kél-éhe-n-shéggarén, E'debélle, with the chief Dári, Tekaute, Kél-sammi, Ibogháliten, Erannarássen, Kél-ankít, or Kél-n-kít; Ilókan, a tribe the name of which is no doubt connected with the town of the same name mentioned by El Bekrí (p. 179.), as lying in the neighbourhood of Kúgha or Kúkíá; Kél-térdit, Tábara-juwílt, Idír-maghen; E'he-dékkaten, Ebónjiten; and finally, a group of four tribes, which collectively bear the name Kél-réres, but each of which has a separate name, Tafajjijat, with the chief Majikma, Ikawálaten, with Ntagellálet, Ekarárayen, with Ntárede, and finally, A'rkaten.

Aurághen (written Urgh), the larger portion of this once predominant and widely-scattered, but now degraded, tribe, portions of which we have already met with elsewhere. They are divided into the two sections of the white and black Aurághen, or Aurághen-eméllulén, and Aurághen-isáttafnén.

Auragh-Aurághen, or Uraghrághen, with the chief Ofádi.

Tameltútak.\*

Imícha, with the chiefs Kámuwen and Khambéllu.

Imezghérsen, with Sullátegé and Amúst.

Kél-gosse.

I'kedén.

I'mrarán.

Kél-tenéri.

Kél-n-eshéub.

\* The latter part of the name appears to me to have some connection with the name of the Berber town Tútek, or Tautek, توتك from whence the salt was carried to Tademékka in the time of El Bekrí (El Bekrí, p. 183.).



Kél-tegésuan.

Mékalén-kalén, or Imekélkalen, with the chief Sidídi.

Kél-wan, with the chief Sidi Mohammed ig Kháde.

Ishemmatén.

Ibílkorayen, originally a section of the Dinnik.

Kél-ulli, the tribe so repeatedly mentioned in my journal as my chief protectors during my stay in Timbúktu, divided into two sections, viz. the Kél-efelle, with the chief E' Shugl, and the Kél-idér with Shéri.

Tefärten.

Imassejénberen.

Bóru.

Eghashómen.

Ijindwejan.

Ikeberédan.

Idóshan or Ilóshan.

Událén.

Kél-ghennesh.

Kesébaten or Elkasébaten.

Id-auragh (written Dúrgħ).

Kel-ghénneschen.

Gónc.

Kel-ídal.

Ilóghmaten.

Tábakunt.

Meskénderen.

Hawe-n-adagh or Haye-ladagh.

Iderak (? the same with Id-auragh).

Dáúd.

Iletámaten.

Kél-téfirwén.

I now proceed to enumerate the tribes of Anáslimen or Tolba, peaceable tribes given to learning and religious devotion among the group of the Awelímmiden.

**Shemman-A'mmas**, with the chief Mohammed ig Itékke, once the Amanókalen or Sultan tribe, in the town of Súk. They are divided into the following sections:—

Ikarbágenen, Iwárwaren, Kél-n-tashdait, or Kél-tíb-bele, Kél-amdellía, or A'hel E'shalmát, subdivided into the two sections of the E'l Wankílle and E'l Enúlli.

**Debákar**, called in Hausa Benú Sekki, settled in Kidal.

**Dau Schák**:

Kél-abákkut, Kél-azúr, Kerzezáwatan, Kél-báriyo, Kél-tábalq, different from the homonymous section of the I'ghelád, Dogerítan, Idébbuten.

**I'denán**, once a powerful tribe, hostile to the Kunta, who made use of the assistance of the Igwádaren against them. The I'denán are subdivided into the following clans:—

Dindséddakant, I'denán eheawen Kidímmit, Kél-teshérayén, Izímmaten, I'nheren, Tajercíjt, Imakórda, Kél-ghalá, Ilóshan.

**Kél e' Súk**, a very numerous tribe of a peculiar stock, so called, as I have stated in another place, from the important town of Súk, probably identical with the town called Tademékka by El Bekrí, of which they were the chief inhabitants. They are subdivided into a great many sections:—

First, there is a group of three tribes, which are referred to one common forefather, Yusuf, a native of Tekerennat: these are the Kél-tekerénnat, who are evidently called from the town Tekerénnat mentioned above; the Kél-tenákse; and the E'gedesh. The Kél-tekerénnat are subdivided into the Kél-tekerénnat ikáwelen, the Kél-tekerénnat ishéggarnén with the chief Intaklúset, the Dwas Ejímmik, and the Dise-mákhshil. To the tribe of the E'gedesh belong the two principal chiefs of the Kél e' Súk at the present time, Khozématen and

**Henna.** Then there are the Kél e' Súk wa-n-e' Súk, whose name is connected with the town of Súk in a twofold manner, as having resided in that place longer than any other section, having probably their nomadic encampments on the site of the town after its destruction. Then the Kél-bógu with Intéllumt, formerly Id Mesúd; the E'l Saláhu, the Ehcáwen Nakíllu, with many subdivisions; the Kél-gúnhan; the Kél-genshíshi; the A'hel Igiwish; the Isharamáten, to whom belongs Najíb; the Id el Háncfi or Kél-esákan embéggan; the Ewuínhadén, with rich herds of cattle; the Kél-jeret; Kél-adhár; Kél-tinharén; Kél-tóndibi; Kél-téjerít; the Kél-emájaus; Kél-gabó; Kél-emássen. \*

The Kél e' Súk have for themselves two tribes of Imghád, the Deletáye, and the Ibokhánnen. \*

I now proceed to the large group of the *Tademékket*, who, as I have stated, were settled formerly in A'derár, round the town called after them Tademékká, but were driven from thence by the Awelímmiden about the middle of the seventeenth century, and have since been settled on both sides of the Niger from Bamba upwards, regarding as the limits of their territory — Bamba in the east, Gúndam in the west, Bú-Jebéha in the north, and Bóne in the south. As I have stated on a former occasion, every merchant arriving in Bú-Jebéha from the north, on his journey to Timbúktu, even at the present day, is obliged to take a respectable man of this tribe with him for his protection. The Tademékket made another attempt to render themselves independent of the Awelímmiden, under their chief Ruméli, about the middle of the last century, I think, and were for a time successful, but were then hunted down by their rivals, and were obliged for a certain period to take refuge in Bámbara.

The Tademékket are divided since about forty years ago into two great groups, the Tingéregef, who dwell north of the river, and the I'regenáten, whose seats are to the south of the Niger. I first proceed to enumerate the tribes constituting

## THE DIVISIONS OF THE I'REGENÁTEN.

the group of the I'regenáten, who are said to have received this name from the circumstance of their mixed character.

Kél-tejiwualet, with the chiefs Kendaye and Súle.

Kél-tebórit, with Khébar.

Kél éhe-n-sáttefen, "The black tent," or tribe, called hógu bíbi by the Songhay, khéme el káhela by the Arabs, with the chief Ingédi.

Kél-tamuláit, with the chief Saúl.

Tejerbókit, with Ermétu.

Ajélletlet.

Abelárlar (Abelághlagh?).

Kél-dejé.

Takétakayen dwell among the I'regenáten, but belonged originally to the Igwádaren. One division, or khéme, of the Kél-bórum also lives among the I'regenáten.

As Imghád of the I'regenáten the following tribes deserve to be mentioned :—

The Eháwen A'darak, in several subdivisions :—

The Kél-efélle, with the chiefs Feréferé, A'den, and Mohammed Ekséména; the Kél-idér, with Bélé the chief mentioned by me in my Journal, who is the principal chief of the whole tribe of the Eháwen-n-A'dagh; the Kéljía, with A'shelma; the Kél-dómberí, with Alaide; the Kél-ténelak; the Kél-dína; the Tázuwy-tázuwy, with Elfodíyi; Kelríshar.

Akótef, with the chief Dalle, with the two subdivisions of the Hágelel and O'zgar.

Ibúrzazen.

Imítteshen.

Imesrérsen.

Imakélkalen, another subdivision of this tribe with the chief Manzúki.

Kél-rémmat.

Tarbóka.

As Aníslimen or tolba of this group, the following tribes became known to me :—

Isakkamáren, and Kél-sakkamáren, the latter with the chief El Kádhi Agge Hámmeten, both these tribes being evidently fragments of the tribe of the Seghmára (however the name may be spelt), described by El Bekrí, and other Arab geographers, as settled on the northern bank of the Niger, round about Tademékka, and occupying a district of many days' journey in extent; indeed it must be supposed that the Tademékka at that time were in a certain degree dependent on the Seghmára. The greater portion of this tribe we have found settled at the present time in districts much farther towards the north. See Vol. I. p. 565. *seq.* The Ibiúkelen, and finally a group of three tribes which originally belonged to the I'ghelád, namely, the Kél-táráshít, the Kél-kabaye, and the Kél el horma.

The Tin gérégef have received this name from the sandy downs, or "ellib," as they are called by the Arabs, bordering on the north side of the Niger. Their chief is A'wáb, whom I have frequently mentioned in my Journal, and they are, as far as I was able to make out, only divided into five sections :—

Tingéregef éhe-n-tamellelt, or those of the white tent ;  
 Tingéregef éhe-n-takáwelit, or those of the black tent, to whom belongs Awáb ; the E'hemed, Enéka, and Telamédes.

In a certain loose connection with this group are the I'ghelád, a very numerous tribe, at present reduced to the position of Aníslimen, who are spread over a large tract of country, but are especially settled in the district Tagánet, between A'zawád and Timbúktu. Here they have dug the deep wells which distinguish that district, and their clans

into which they are divided are therefore mostly designated from these wells. Their chiefs are Mohammed A'hmed ig Hawáli, E' Táher, and Mohammed 'Alí. The following is a list of their numerous subdivisions:—

Kél-antsár, Kél-n-wíwatan, Kél-n-Nokúnder, Kél-n-sheréa, Kél-n-agózen, Kél-n-bagsay, Kél-n-tushawén, Kél-n-wárrosén, Kél-n-abéllehan, Kél-n-mámúr, Kél-n-érazar, Kél-n-gíba, Kél tintahón, to whom belonged the learned Sheikh Sídí 'Alí in the time of Bába el kebír, Kél-téneg el hay or Debórió, Kél-n-nettik, Kél-n-tinsmáren, Kél-n-tintazalt, Kél-n-óshéf, Kél-inneb, Kél-migágelít on the furthestmost well of Tagánet, Kél-n-márzafef, Kél-tin-udékan, Kél-tinekawat, Kél-n-téshak, Kél-hór, to whom belongs the great fáki Táher, Kél-emailhór, Kél-téle, Kél-n-tabarámit, very rich in cattle, Kél-takánkelt, Kél-tadrak, Inetáben, Kél-tehórogén, Ibidúkelen, Kél-tághashít, Kél-clhorma, Kél kabáy, Kél-sakkomáren, Kél-tadár, Kél-n-kézem, Kél-térshawén, Kél-téndetas, Kél-tinhéllatén, Kél-insaid, Kél-eshínkay, Kél-n-álshinen, Kél-n-jarén, Kél-n-áyerén, Ihéwan-nór-eddí, Terbáz, Kél-tegállit.

I now proceed to mention the most easterly group of the Awelímmiden, who, in a political sense, have totally separated from the stock, and are generally allied with the Kél-gerés. These are the Awelímmiden wuén Bodhál, or, as they are generally called along the Niger, Dinnik, whose chief, Músa, enjoys great celebrity. The sections into which this tribe is subdivided I have not been able to learn.

I will conclude this short notice about these south-western Tawárek by stating, in addition to the facts exposed in Vol. I. p. 223. *et seq.*, that I have not the slightest doubt that the Imóshagh are represented in the ancient sculptures of Egypt, by the fourth human race called Tāmhu, or the inhabitants of the country Tēmí, and represented as of very light colour,

with their distinguishing curl on the right side of the head, and their ear-rings. For the Mashawash, who are mentioned together with the Támhú, seem to be nothing else but the same tribe under a different form of name. See Brugsch *Geographische Inschriften Altägyptischer Denkmäler*, ii. p. 78. *et seq.*, and Plate I.

## APPENDIX IV.

A VOCABULARY OF THE TEMA'SHIIGHT OR TA'RKI'YE,  
SUCH AS SPOKEN BY THE AWEL'MMIDEN.

A SHORT PROLEGOMENA, BY PROFESSOR NEWMAN.

THE materials accumulated by Dr. Barth, enable us to give a more distinct reply to the question : What relation does the Temáshight (abbreviated in future as Temght) language bear to the idiom of the Kabáíl of Mount Atlas, and to the Shilha of Morocco? The replies hitherto given have seemed to a great authority, the Baron de Slane, premature, and, therefore, arbitrary.

I will try to write as one recapitulating facts, so far as I can discern facts, throwing the remarks under separate heads :—

1. The system of *Pronouns* in the Temght differs sufficiently from that of the Kabáíl, to put a broad separation between the languages. The Baron de Slane has already given a valuable table, comparing the Pronominal system in the (so called) Berber tongues ; and there is nothing to be added to this. Temght does not differ more decisively from Kabáíl in this respect, than each differs from Shilha, &c. Nevertheless, in the midst of the diversity, appear obvious and decisive marks of common origin. In fact, the *suffixed* pronouns differ but little.

2. The *Numerals*, in so far as they are not superseded by Arabic, are fundamentally the same in all.

3. So far as Plural nouns can be formed regularly from the singular, the two languages seem to observe substantially the same rules.

4. The mode of *Conjugating* the principal tense of the Verb, has no greater diversity in the Temght and Kabáíl than that found between mere dialects of the same language.

The modes of forming the *Present* Tense are perhaps imperfectly understood as yet in all these tongues.

It is on the surface of the Kabáíl, that a Present Tense is formed



by prefixing *adhi*, *ayi*, or *ai* to the principal tense. This prefix precedes the pronominal mark of the verb. Similarly in the Temght we have *ehe* or *eye* fulfilling the same function; and (especially since the suffix pronoun of the Kabail, *ayi* or *ai* ("me") is *-ahi*, in Barth) this *ehe* seems to be the same element as Kabáíl *ayi*.

*Adhi* (in Kab.) often expresses a Future or Subjunctive idea. Yet the element *ara* or *ere* is, perhaps, still more decidedly future. I have found this element, *r*, in Barth, though rarely: for instance, *ubbok*, smoking; and *rabakagh*, I smoke. In Hanoteau, *gh* takes the place of *r*—sounds often confounded. To etymology it is of interest to know which sound is here more correct. If *gh*, then we are thrown back on *aghi* of Kabáíl, which has the same meaning as *ayi*, viz., "this." Also the element *ad* means "this," fem. *ati*. It seems then, that, prefixed to a tense, they give the idea of Now or Presently.

Besides these external affixes, in an Appendix to my edition of Sídi Ibrahim's Narrative, published by the (London) Asiatic Society, I elicited four internal methods of forming the Present Tense in Kabáíl, viz., 1. by reduplication of the second radical; 2. by prefixing *t* to the root (with the sound of *ts*); 3. by prefixing *θ* to the root (sounded *t* on the lowlands, but English *th* in the highlands); 4. transitive verbs, formed by *s* prefixed to the root, affix *ai* after the root, or sometimes change the last vowel to *ā*. The Temght, with which Dr. Barth's ear was familiarized, disowns the distinction of the thick *t* (*ts*) from the common *t*, as well as the sound of English *th*. We cannot, therefore (at least at present), distinguish in this language between the second and third methods just recounted. But we may positively assert, that in Dr. Barth's specimens a *prevalent* mode of forming the Present tense, is by prefixing *t* to the elementary part of the verb. Thus: *aniyet*, ride ye (from a root which must be *inay*, he rode); *etinne*, he rides, mounts; *enhi* (or *cheni*), look thou, find thou; *inlu*, I have found; but *tehinnen*, they see; *atenhegh*, I find; *inna*, he said, he spoke; *neketēnagh tinārahen*, I spake peace; *iwwen*, he went up; *tewinagh*, I climb up; *ikōr*, it is dried; *itōyar*, it is drying up.

On the other hand, where the prefix *t* is not found, but where Dr. Barth, notwithstanding, assigns a present meaning, I am some-

times struck with a broad *ā*, which may perhaps denote present time, as in the fourth method of the Kabáíl above noted : but the materials are so few, that this needs confirmation. For example, *yedís*, he laughed ; *dāsagh*, I laugh ; *ikkēl*, he turned or returned, *ekālagh*, I come back.

5. The Noun of Action is formed from the verb by a *t* prefixed, and becomes feminine. In this all the Berber tongues seem to differ little from one another, or from Hebrew and Arabic.

6. The Transitive Verb is formed in Temght, as in Kabáíl, by prefixing *s* to the root. Thus : *arid*, washed ; *saradagh*, I wash (a thing) ; *ádirif*, a freedman ; *sidderrfagh*, I set free : *idau*, he went in company ; *isdau*, he brought together.

7. A Passive Verb, formed like the Hebrew Niphal, is found sometimes, but rarely, alike in Temght and in Kabáíl. Thus, from Barth's *ibóyis*, he is wounded, comes the transitive *sabayasagh*, I wound ; and from this again a passive, *ansabayāsen*, they were wounded. Indeed, also *war nebúyis*, he was not wounded ; formed direct from the primitive. Barth has *ekshe*, eat thou ; *écheri in-ekshe*, "the money is spent ;" probably, *inckshe*, is eaten.

8. A Reciprocal Verb or a Verbal Adjective is formed in both languages by prefixing *m* to another verbal root. The practical use of this is comparable to the vagueness of the Greek Middle Voice. In Kabáíl it seems to be oftenest Reflective, sometimes Passive ; nor otherwise in Temght. From *yohagh*, he seized, comes *témmihagh* (explained by Hanoteau as the Temght for), she was seized ; where the *m* is Passive. But from *isitteg*, he traded, *imisitteg*, he exchanged : from *idau*, he went in company (*idui*, in Hanoteau), *amidi*, a comrade ; *isharrag*, he fetched water, *amsharrag*, a water-carrier ; *ikkēl*, he turned (generally neuter), *isōkal*, he caused to return, he replaced ; *simiskal*, barter thou (cause to replace mutually ?) ; *ru*, weep, sob (Kabáíl root), *itru*, he weeps (Kab.), *immerauen* (persons) weeping together ; *irtay*, it was joined ; *imirtayen*, mixed ; *isken*, he pointed, showed ; *emsāken*, they deliberate.

In fact *n* and *m* of these two heads, appear to have no sharp distinction. They are joined in Barth's *anemang(h)a*, battle ; from *nūgh*, fight thou (Kab.), or from *engh*, kill thou. In Síli I'brahím's Shilha, *emmaghan*, they fought (for *emnaghan* ?).

9. Reduplicate verbs are found in both languages, comparable

to those of Hebrew and Arabic. Thus from *inghal*, it leaks (Barth), [in Kab., *inghel*, it gushed,] we have, as feminine, *toraf̣ṭ tinghálnaghel*, the boat leaks,—*qu.*, is utterly leaky. Many reduplicate verbs occur, where we have to conjecture the primitive; as in *eshisheriwuēgh*, I trot my horse; *sheresherau*, work the pump handle, or pull the cord of the well-lever; *imesharlárlarēn* or *ereshaushauēn*, (the water) is boiling.

The Temght sometimes repeats the third radical, as in *shékarash*, to till the ground. That the root is *keresh*, we know, since this is the sense of Kabúíl *kerez*; and Kab. *z* often becomes *sh* in Temght. *Ergash*, walk thou; and *yushirgesh*, he took a ride. From *anjur*, the nose-bone (*anzer*, of Kabúíl), by repeating the second radical, comes *shinshar*, nostrils; *shinshor*, to clear the nose. Evidently reduplication plays a large part in these languages. It sometimes appears to excess; as from *ishwar*, he begins (*izwer*, he began, Kab.); *sheshwāragh*, I begin.

10. The Temght heaps formation on formation to an extent exceeding what appears in the specimens of Kabúíl which I have met. In fact I have often had to refer to Kabúíl or to Ghadám̄si for the roots of Bartli's verbs. Thus he has *sanishlam*, look about; a double formation from *ishlam*, which must be the same as Ghadám̄si *izlem* (also *illem*), he saw; *esimmiktagh* I call to memory; transitive from the Kab. *amekthi*, a thought; from root *iktha*. Out of *Kél* (a tribe, people) the Temght develops *atkēl*, empire; *amanōkal*, ruler; *temanókālen*, government.

11. The Temght, as exhibited in Dr. Barth's specimens, often seems to degenerate into a Negro jabber. When the pronoun nominative is prefixed to the verb, a mere crude form of the verb may seem to suffice, just as though in Latin one were to say, *ego reg*, *ille reg*, instead of *rego*, *regit*; and for the third person the element *y* (for "he") is often dropped; as *amūt*, he died, for *yamūt*. Also, apparently from the influence of vulgar Arabic, we find the first person plural form used for the singular; as, *Nek noda(r)*, I fall (*ego cadimus*); *Nek nuttef*, I take (*ego cepimus*): sometimes also the Arabic form of the second person singular supplants that of Berber, with the inconvenience of seeming to be third person feminine.

12. In Kabúíl I find a rather rare form of the Passive by prefixing *wa* to the root. Thus from *rebbi*, rear, nourish (Brosse-

lard), comes *itwarabba*, he is reared (Luke, iv. 16.): from *yūrez*, he chained; *ittārez*, he chains; *itwarzan*, they are chained (Luke iv. 19.); though here *w* may seem to be in the root: *issen*, he knew; *itwassen*, it is known (Luke, vi. 44.); *u atsayaḷaḥ*, *sagha attattusayulam* (Matthew, vii. 1.), is intended to express, "Judge not, that ye be not judged;" strictly, perhaps, *Non interrogate, ne-forte interrogemini*; Sīdi Hūmed often uses the (Arabic?) verb *isayal*, he asked, for he judged. Here also we have *ittusayal*, he is judged; which yields *usayal* or *wasayal*, as the passive root, and *wa* as the passive element. Again, *inwaddar*, it was trodden under foot (Luke, viii. 5.), compared with *aḡar*, the foot, suggests that (*dd* being euphonic for double *t*?) *n* and *wa* here combine for a passive idea. I have recited these cases, because the form is rare, and might seem doubtful. Now in Barth, besides *irna*, he exceeded, surpassed, conquered (*superavit*), we find *itwarna*, he is conquered; which denotes a like passive formation.

13. The system of Prepositions is not wholly the same in Temght as in Kabáíl. Yet they have in common, *en* or *na*, of; *si-*, from or by; *ghūr*, apud (pronounced *rōr*, with Barth); *fel*, upon; *ger*, between; *dau*, under; *g-*, in; *degħ* or *der*, at or in? *d-*, an untranslatable prefix, sometimes meaning with. This may seem the same as *id*, *d*, meaning and. Behind, *dar*, in Barth, is perhaps a contraction of Kabáíl *daffir*. Kabáíl *azzaḥ*, *zaḥ*, front, before, is *dat* in Barth; seemingly the same element. All this shows a very close relation of the two languages.

14. The vocabularies, with very great likeness, show also grave diversities, making it impossible to regard the two idioms as mere *dialects* of one language. Undoubtedly a stranger is liable to overrate in detail the significance of this, and unduly to assume that words of the one are wholly foreign to the other. Thus, when the Tawárek say *ishek* (De Slane) for a tree, which in Kabáíl is *Ḡasṭa*, *Ḡasṭṭa*, we are struck by the contrast. Nevertheless, in Kabáíl, *ishig* means, a branch: hence it is nearly as our colonists say bush for forest, wood. Barth writes *ekishk* for *ishek*, which still more obscures the relation. But after all allowance, it remains that the two languages have deviated so widely from their original, that their identity is only an etymological, not a popular fact. If Negro words be duly ejected from the Temght; and intrusive Arabic from the Kabáíl, Shilha, &c., the remaining

portion of the vocabularies greatly illustrate one another, and seem adequate to reconstruct the chief material of the old Libyan tongue. Barth has the high merit, to us, of giving very little as Temght which can be accounted Arabic.

The Arabic words which do enter the Temght are not identical with those of the Kabáíl; not even in religion. Thus prayer in Kabáíl is *tazallit* (from Arabic صلى); but in Temght, *umad*, from Arabic *عمد*; Confirmation being confounded with Prayer, as elsewhere with Baptism. This word may have come from Christianity; since also sin in Temght and Ghadámsi is *bekkad* (once *ebaket* in Barth); which seems, like the Welsh *pechod*, *bechod*, to be the Latin *peccata*. It is curious to observe in Temght the root *ibekket*, he crouched or knelt; perhaps primitively as a religious attitude. (Hanoteau has *ibekket* of a lion crouching; and Barth gives *asibaket* for "sit with elbows on the legs against cold!") In this connection we may note that the Kabáíl name of God is *Rabbi*, which in Arabic is "My Lord;" but in Temght, besides A'manay, it is *Mesina* or *Mesinak*, which Barth takes for "our Messiah," a Christian importation.

15. The prefix *am* before a substantive means in Kabáíl *a possessor*. At least Hodgson gives many illustrations of this. I do not know that it distinctly appears in Barth, though there are words thus explicable; as *ahuyye*, the chase; *amahuyyen*, a sportsman. But the Temght has, to express this sense, a very common prefix, *ila*, unknown to the Kabáíl, as far as I am aware.

Thus from *Ehen*, a tent; *ilēhen*, tented (i. e. married). It indeed seems to me that this prefix has the wider sense of changing some other word into an adjective, nearly as the German suffix *-ig*. Thus from *dar*, behind (prep.) comes *iladara* (one who is?) behind; from *dat*, before, *iladata* (one who is?) in front. One may even suspect that *ila* here is the element of the verb "to be," from *illa*, he was; *ili*, be thou. (Barth also has *ilē*, "here;" and in Kabáíl and Shilha *elli* is the relative "who," as in vulgar Arabic.)

The general conclusion seems to be that Temght, Shilha, Ghadámsi, Kabáíl, &c., are distinct languages, related as (we will say) Portuguese, Spanish, and Italian.

It may be here added, that Dr. Barth unfortunately has not

been able (in the rude pronunciation to which he listened) to discriminate *t* from *ʔ*, *d* from *ḏ*, *k* from *ḵ*, *z* from *ʒ* (if there is any *ص*), while *gh* was perpetually passing into *g*, *k*, or *r*. It appears to me still doubtful how many consonants there are in Temght; whether there is any *Ain*, and whether there is any such distinction as the *ts* and *th* of the Kabáíl. If we knew the sounds accurately, certain families of words might be less confused and confusing.

In general, the pronunciation of words presented to us by Dr. Barth is softer than that of the Kabáíl, and has a fuller and clearer vocalization. In one combination, indeed, the Kabáíl is the softer, and it may deserve attention: it is the English *tch* (written *ch* by Barth) for which he has *ksh* or *tk*. Thus the Temght *ikshe*, he ate, *itkar*, it is full, are in Kabáíl *ichche*, *ichchur*. From Arabic *kheshen*, rough, the Kab. makes *ichchen*, he is ugly. Again it has *ichchah* and *ichcham*, he was hot in anger (answering to Arabic *أجأ* and *أجم*), for which Barth gives the harsher sound *itkar*, meaning perhaps *itkagh* or *itkakh*. These cases are of interest, as pointing out that the Temght has sometimes an older form of the word than that found in Arabic.

F. W. NEWMAN.

## PRONOUNS, ETC.

*I*, nek.

*Thou*, ke, kay; *fem.* kam.

*He*, enta. *She*, entadi.

*We*, nekenet [nekenet?]; *fem.* nekénētēt [nekénētēt?].

*I'e*, kawenit [kawenit?]; *fem.* kamētēt.

*They*, entenet [entenet?]; *fem.* enténētēt [enténētēt?].

[N.B. *We*, *ye*, *they*, in *Tua-rey* [Temáshight] are given by De Slane as *Neknid*, *Kisniid*, *Entenid* with final *d*, and by Ben Músa with final  $\frac{1}{2}$  or  $\frac{1}{3}$ .]

*Of me*, mine, eni, ini, ino, in.

*Of thee*, inek; *fem.* inem.

*Of him*, enis, inis.

*Of her*, tenis, tinis.

*Of us*, inūnagh.

*Of you*, ināwen; *fem.* inekmet.

*Of them*, inēsan; *fem.* inēsnet.

*I have*, nek ila rōri (ego, est mihi).

*Thou hast*, ke ila rōrik.

— (*fem.*), kamak ila rorin (*m.*?).

*He has*, enta ila rōris, &c.

*Myself*, imānin; *by myself*, simūni.

*Thyself*, imannek; *fem.* imannem.

*Himself*, herself, imannis.

*Ourselves*, imannānagh.

*Yourselves*, imānnawen; *fem.* imannekmet.

*Themselves*, imannisen; *fem.* imannesnet.

*He went*, iğčle, yíğčle.

*Thou wentest*, tegčlēt [tegelet?].

*I went*, egčlegh.

*They went*, tigčlēn; *fem.* tigčlēnet.

*Ye went*, tigelém; *fem.* tigelémet.

*We went*, negčle.

*There is*, cha [iha? = iga of Shilha] chan, *there being*.

*There is to me*, chay, chāhi; *fem.* ethāhe.

*There is to thee*, chik, hīk; (*there being to thee?*) chan-kay.

*There was*, illa.

*There is*, yilč.

*There once was*, kūla ille.

*One (a certain)*, iyen.

*One by one*, iyen, siyen.

*Alone*, iyente.

*Other (alius)*, iyet, iyed.

*Other (alter?)*, yednain, niđ.

[Compare Arabic root *ayđ*, whence *ayedān*.]

*Some, others*, iyed, iyed.

*I alone*, iyentnek.

*Thou alone*, iyentke.

*He alone*, iyententa.

*We alone*, iyentūnagh.

*Ye alone*, iyentēnawen; *fem.* iyentonekmet.

*They alone*, iyento nisen; *fem.* iyente nisnet.

*I and thou*, nek id ke.

[And, e. See 126, 127. and 130.]

*Or*, mer.

*But, hun.* [In apodosis, *Hun, ecce!*  
(*Prodigal Son.*)]

*Yes, iya.*

*No, kalā! kalā kalā!*

*This thing, ādi (masc. ?).*

*This (here) thing, tetid (fem. ?).*

*This year, teni, tenēda, tenīdagħ.*

*Last year, teninḍi.*

*Two years ago, tēnenḍin.*

*This, that, awa, ō [fem. ata? i].*

[*These, those, wīn; fem. ch. of in ai?*]

*This, wādagħ; fem. tādagħ.*

*These, wuidagħ; fem. tidagħ.*

— idagħ [in both genders and numbers].

*To-day, ashel idagħ; to night, ehad idagħ.*

*This is he, enta dūdagħ.*

*That (ille), wuēn (illa), tēn [in-dagħ?], tindagħ.*

[*This (neuter? and absolute), ādi (?)*]

— also, *tetid* and *tet*, *fem.?* *Prodig. Son.*, (te)sel-emastet, tegi-mastet, imposuistis ei eam.

*This and that, wuay wuay.*

*These and those, wuīn wuīn.*

*Who, which, awa; pl. wui (129).*

*Who? ennagħ? māmūs?*

*Whoever, awwa (129).*

*Whatever is there, awayw ilādiḥēn. (126.)*

{ *Those ropes, erēwiyen wadagħ.*

{ *What trees? innagħ ehishkan.*

{ *Which they twine, wui tellēmin.*

*What? ennagħ awen? endagħ? endēgħ mā?*

*What is it? nishin?*

[*Num? utrum? awagħ, perhaps, 56.*]

*Why? meft? mefel? mas?*

*When? me?*

[*On this side, siḥā, siḥahe.*

\*ilā'ien, elādi.

*On that side, ilāsehēn, ilāhini.*

*Here, ilē (etid? 138.).*

*There, ilāsehēn, ilādiḥēn (dis? 102.)*

*In this place, ilādiḥa dagħ.*

*In what place, ennagħ edagħ?*

*Where (is it) that, endagħ dīhan?*

— endegħ diḥa? (πῶ

ῶν;)

*Where? mā ege?*

*Where, diḥa, iḥe (relative adv.)*

[*Uterque præterit, quod præterit,*

*Erētūset ika, diḥa ika.*]

*In what manner? de kawan entág?*

[degħ awwan entág?]

*At that place, dar (gh?) agel† wadagħ.*

[*Every, igen, aigin?*]

[*In Shilḥa, kraigen, every; fem. kraiget.*]

*Every day, ashel igen.*

*Then, at that time, yawen asigan.*

*At every time, aigin kala.*

[*Kālā, (une) fois? = wal of Shilḥa, = tekalt of Kabāil.*]

\* Initial *ila* seems to convert an adverb or substantive into an adjective, like German *-ig* (root *illa*, he was? yet *ilē*, here, crosses us); so *ehen*, tent; *ilēhen*, tented.

† *Agel*, perhaps, is Kab. *aghel*, arm, in the sense of side or direction. Compare *arila*.



*Once upon a time (there being),*

*kalayillen.*

*Never, aigin kala war.*

*— atillen.*

*Always, harkūk [har=usque?].*

*Formerly, ehingām, abōja.*

*Once, arū, ibbēda (olim).*

*Somebody, mindam.*

*Everybody, erētūsē [each of two?].*

*The whole }  
All } rurret, iket.*

*All the world, rurret eddynia.*

*All the rivers, eghífriwan rurret.*

*All of us, iket énānagh.*

*All of you, iket énāwen.*

*All of it, iket enis.*

*About, nearly, turdan iket.*

*Just, exactly, adūtet.*

*Not, war. (So Kab. Shil.)*

*Nothing, war-harret.*

*Something, harret.*

*Only, ghas (so Shilha), war-har,  
non nisi.*

*But only, with the exception of, asal  
(aşal, Kab.).*

*The whole tribe has been extin-  
guished with the exception of a  
few lads, tausit ikétenis témminde  
asel harret iliadan.*

*Much, egēn; fem. tegēt.*

*Multitude, egöd (129.), yegöt.\**

*[Quantity, igöde.*

*Number, eket.]*

*How often? merder úgída?*

*How much? ma igöde?*

*At what price? meder úgída?*

*How many? men ekēt? (= me-  
nesht of Delaporte's Kab.)*

*Too much, agöteni.*

*Many of them, awagöt dagheen.*

*Most of them, awagin dagheen.*

*[Somewhat, a little, in Ghadámsi,  
eket.]*

*A few, wafarör; pl. wafarören.*

*— awandurren [andurren, a little.]  
imadrüini [maḍrūin, B. M.].*

*[Comparing amāddaray, young-  
er (amḍaray in Ben Músa), and  
the Kabáíl adrūs, a little (of it),  
we get the root, drū or dru, for  
littleness.]*

*Very, hullen. [Ghad., hála, much;  
hálen, many; Hodgson's Kab.†,  
herla.]*

*Little by little, sullen sullen.*

*Generally, ordinarily, ennādir.*

*[A little, giak. See 146.]*

*One day, saagödi.*

*Ilüherto, har egödi, 207. (usque ad  
nunc).*

*endi.*

*Now, egödi? azarādar [= azal  
adagh (this day?), amarādar (this  
time)].*

*Soon, agödédak [egödi idagh].*

\* In Shilha, yeggöt, it is abundant or numerous. In Kabáíl, yeshat† is the same. De Slane treats the latter as the Arabic yeshedd, intendit, constrinxit.

† The commoner Kab. *khiralla*, many, much; is explained by Brosselard as a religious extravagance, *Kheir Allāh*, God is good. Perhaps he has proof that I do not know; else it might seem to be a mere development of *herla*, or compounded anomalously of *khirkála*, "good many."

*Not yet, har egōdi war.*

— *heregōdi ; endi.*

[*Num ? anne ? hi.*]

{ *Adhuc anne pervenimus, quō  
ibamus ?* }

[*Endi hi nussa, diha nikka ?*]

[See also *essi* in 65. below ; but neither *hi* nor *essi* in this sense is confirmed.]

*Before, dat (datāi, dátak, &c.), [= Kab., zath.]*

*Behind, dar (dar 'anagh, &c.), [= Kab., daffir.]*

[*That which is*] *in front, ilādata.*

[*That which is*] *behind, ilādarn.*

*Darret, after (prepos.), in Prodigal Son.*

*At, d. At the side, d edis.*

*By, s.*

*In, der, degh. Into, dag.*

*Of (partitive), degh.*

*Under, dan, edēr [= Kab., edau].*

*Down, sedir [= sedau].*

*Inside, anaigesh [from egish].*

*Outside, agēme, dagāma [from egem].*

*Without, gema.*

*Between, ger [me gerassen, which betwixt them ? i. e. which of the two ?].*

*For, rōr [ghur of Kab.].*

*Upon, felle, safelle, fel.*

— *ser ? 139.*

*Over, ginnēgis, ginnēgish [ginnēge, 147.]. From Kab., ennig.*

*Around, terlaite (after noun).*

*Until, har [Kab., ar.].*

## VERBS ARRANGED ACCORDING TO CONNECTION.

WITH NOTES BY PROFESSOR NEWMAN.

1. *Wuēgh, I was born.*

*Where wast thou born ? Endūgh akal wādagh wuīt ? (What land that thou-wast-born ?)*

2. *The woman is bearing (pregnant), temmat tōren.*

3. *The woman gives suck, temmat tezēdūt [tesēṭut].*

*He sucks the breast, itātet [itāṭet].*

1. *Yiwū, he was born ? In Shilha, yu, a son.*

2. *Araw, offspring, Kab.*

3. *Yesūtef, she gave suck, Kab. ; from itēf, he sucked the teat.*

4. *The woman suckles her child, temmat tesánkas rōris.*

*He sucks, inākas.*

5. *I am alive, edargh.*

*He is alive, idār. (So Kab.)*

6. *The boy is ripe (of age), aliad awad.*

*The girl is ripe (of age), taliad tawad.*

*Ripeness of age, tagat. An adult, amawad.*

7. *The girl has a full bosom, taliad tistaurat.*

4. *Root inkas ? he sucked.*

8. *He has grown old, iwāshar.*  
*I grow old, wāsharagh.*
9. *He died, is dead, amūt. (So Kab.)*
10. *Look! enhi!*  
*I have not found, war enhēgh.*  
*Have you found my knife? abēsar*  
*eni tenbēt?*  
*We have found him, nenhēt.*  
*(Prod. Son.)*  
*We have again found him, (we*  
*have repeated the finding), no-*  
*lis tahānait. (Prod. Son.)*  
*I see, atēnhegh.*  
*Sight, ahānay.*  
*They see not, war tehinne.*  
*Nobody sees anything, war ihinne*  
*wādem harret.*  
*I saw nothing, war inhegh harret.*
11. *I look at with attention, esagā-*  
*dagh.*  
*Look before you, sagerēhe dātak.*  
*I look at with pleasure, esagrū-*  
*hagh.*  
*I listen [to thee], nek asijādānak.*  
*[You] do not listen [to us], war*  
*hanagh tesjadet.*  
*I looked around, asanishlāmagh.*  
*Let us look around, sanishlā-*  
*mānagh.*
12. *I feel with my hand, tédishagh.*  
*Feeling (subst.), tédisha.*
13. *I smell, insarghagh.*  
*Let me smell (snuff at), disara-*  
*ghagh.*  
*I take a snuff, sārāghagh.*
14. *I taste, etālaghagh.*  
*Taste (subst.), tālagh.*
15. *I have eaten, ikshēgh.*  
*Give me (what) I-may-eat, ikf-*  
*āhi awwā-kshēgh.*
16. *I am hungry, ilōzagh.*
17. *I have enough, iyūwanagh. (So*  
*Kab.)*  
*We have enough, naiwen.*  
*Thou hast enough, tiyūwanat.*
18. *I drink, aswēgh.*  
*Drink! asu! (So Kab.)*  
*Give me to drink, ikfāhi deswagh.*  
*[We give you], nikfēk.*
19. *Thou gobblest, no stopping! ke*  
*tensēat, war dikkēra.*

---

pound verb, from *isag*, he looked, and *irah*, he loved.

*Sanishlam*, frequentative from root *shalam*, which in Ben Mūsa's Ghadāmsi is *izlem*, and also *yellem*.

12. *Idish*, he felt?

13. *Isāregh*, he smells (Temght of B. M.). If this is a causative form, it implies a root, *iregh*, it has a smell; = Arabic, *rihh*. But it must not be too easily identified with *irgha*, it burnt.

14. *Yalegh*, he tasted; so Ben Mūsa's Tuareg (Temght).

15. *Ekshe*, in Kab. becomes *echche*.

18. *Ikfu* [Arab. it sufficed] is *ifha* of Kab. he gave. See 93.

8. In Ghadāmsi, *ūsar*, old.

10. Ben Mūsa of Ghadāmsi gives *ihen*, he saw; and *ehēni*, look! as Tuareg (Temght). *Eheni* and *enchi*, according to Barth, are transpositions ad libitum; also *two* meanings, see and find, appear.

11. Kab. *isag*, he looked at; *iseked*, he observed. *Asijadan* is for *asigadan* (partic.), attending. *Esugrah* is a com-

20. *Hunger kills me* [smites me?],  
inákāhē jā.  
*I kill you*, nek inrēkay [inglē-  
kay].
- \*21. *Thirst overpowers me*, inrāhi fat  
[fad] [or, inghāhi, kills me].
22. *I perspire*, orāfagh.  
*perspiration* (subst.), imselhā.  
*The water-carriers sweat*, im-  
sharrōgen imselhesan [(there  
is) sweat to them.]
23. *Smoking*, ubbok.  
*I smoke the pipe*, rabākagh eben.  
——, sasagh ebēni (*I drink  
my pipe*).
24. *I say*, ennēgh. (So *Kab.*)  
*You told me*, tenūhit, [she told it  
to me?]  
*Tell him*, annas.
25. *Utterance*, asókel [asókel?].  
*I answer*, asókālagh el jawāb,  
*Answer me*, sokalāhe el jawāb.  
*Restore to me my camel*, sokalāhi  
āmenis ení.  
*I restore to you your thing*, sókū-  
lagh harret enak.

20. Elsewhere Barth has *inakken*, they beat. (*Kab.* has *nūgh*, fight thou! *engh*, kill thou! separate verbs). Heb. *Naka* is either smite or slay.

21. *Iura* (in *Shilha*, he overpowers, conquers, becomes *irna* (but see 129.) in *Kab.*, and unites the senses *superat* and *superat*).

23. The present tense formed by initial *r* or *ar* is rare in Barth, common in *Kabáil* and *Shilha*.

25. *Isókal*, causative, from *ikhāl*, he turned (neuter). *Asókel*, utterance, is like *reddere* voces for *edere*.

- They make them go back*, isoka-  
lén-ten.  
*He did not return my salute*, war  
hay isókal essālām.  
*I replace the sword*, esókalagh  
tákōba.  
*The copying* (of a book), asúkal.  
*Shut the door*, sókel tefalwat.  
*I shut the door*, sókālagh tefal-  
wat. [Properly, turn the door.]
26. *He does not speak distinctly*, ital  
elis enis [he has wrapt (or in-  
volved) his tongue].  
*He rattles* [stammers?], enta  
ahedendán.  
*She rattles* [stammers?], tehá-  
dendán.
27. *Thou talkest much*, ke hek ta-  
kalt.  
*I prattle*, nek et-habe takalt.
28. *I want to whisper*, erhēgh asim-  
metiktikāgh.
29. *I am eloquent*, orūdagh.  
*Eloquence*, erkōd [eghrōd?]  
*A speech*, meggēred.  
*He is eloquent*, isrād elis enis  
[he made-eloquent his tongue].  
*I praise*, egeriddagh.  
*He harangues them*, imeggēred  
dassen.

26. *Dendun*, or *tenfan*, to ring or rattle, is *Kab.* and *Arab.*, and *Lat*, *tinnio*.

27. *Takalt* is perhaps formed from *Arabic*. *Awal* (vox), for *kul*, is the *Kabáil*.

28. Root *tihtik*; the *m* is reciprocal, and *s* causative.

29. Perhaps from *Arabic*, *ghered*, he warbled, the guttural snuffing obliteration.

30. *I inquire, eistānagh.*

*Ask him the news, sistent fel is-  
ālen. (Ar. saal, he asked.)*

31. *Seek thou, ummagh [Kab. ūnāg.]*

*He sought for, yummagh, ye-  
summagh.*

*I seek your advice, nek summa-  
ghekay tanhād.*

32. *Give us advice, ager tanhā(d?)*

*I advise you, egerākay tanhād.*

*Advice, tanhād.*

*—, takshit [secrecy].*

*I tell you this secretly, inneghak  
awādagh istakshit.*

*We confer between ourselves,  
neger tanhād gerēnagh.*

*You must not repeat it to any one,  
war tintennit (or war tisellit)  
awādem.*

33. *I will, I like, irhūgh.*

*I like, love you, irhūkay.*

*I like not, wūr terhagh [or, wur-  
t-erhagh, I like him not?]*

34. *I can, edūbegh, dūbegh.*

32. *Ger*, throw, cast, in Kab. and Temght. *Neger tanhād*, we cast advice. In the forms *summaghekay* (31.), *egerakay* (32.), *irhekūy* (33.), *yūfekē* (35.) we see that the Tawārek use the nominative *kay* or *kē* for (thee) the accusative after a verb [reserving the Kabāil suffix *ak* for the dative (tibi)?], and the final *gh* of the 1st pl. is absorbed by *k*. Thus, *irhūkay* = *erhūgh-kay*.

33. *Irha*, in Ghad. is *ifrāū*, in Kab. is *ira*. The word is evidently the Berber correlative of Arab. *ifrah*, he rejoiced; which the Kabāil dialect uses side by side with *ira*.

34. *Idōb* (he is able) must be inferred.

35. *We surpass him, nūfe-t. [So in Shilha.]*

*This man surpasses you, balis  
wādagh yūfekē.*

*It is better than, yūfa.*

36. *It is useful, yīnfa. [Arab. yinfā.]*

*——, ahitenfa.*

*It is gone, finished, yimmōdi.*

*It is enough, yūggeda.*

*It is suitable, [initūēgi?]*

*It is impossible, awar initūēgi.*

*There is, yilē.*

37. *What shall I do? ma diknogh?*

*He who makes shoes, wa yekan-  
nen ibūshegan.*

*We did it, nekñit.*

*It may be, imōkan (is feasible).*

38. *The stars shine forth, itāren ik-  
nān ebarbar.*

*This day is very fine, ashel idagh*

*ikna téshel dje.*

*It is wonderful, takōnit.*

39. *I have done for thee, egéaghak.*

*I have committed sin, egúgh  
cbāket.*

*They have formed a line, égen  
āfōd.*

*I do [have done?], iggegh.*

*I mend a rent, tagagh tikist.*

Hence also, *addib*, expert, pl. *idābāben*; and a new verb, *idābab*, he is expert.

37. *Ken*, do thou! *fac!* (Ben Músa's Temght.)

38. *Ikna*, it shone? *Iken*, he made?

39. *Aj* (ج) is Ghadāmsi for do thou! In Shilha, *igā*, factam est; in Temght it is active, *egit*. The word seems to be lost in Kabāil. (See *etaghagh* and *ig* in 47.)

*Make for me a pretty song,*  
egāhi anaya ihōken. [*Prod.*  
*Son. ahas nigge, ut ei facia-*  
*mus*].

*Thou hast done wrong, tegēt tel-*  
*lēbist.*

*I have done (a good thing) for*  
*you, tagaghak.*

*Thou hast done me a wrong,*  
tagaihi tellēbist: [*she has done*  
*me?*].

*Shall I fasten the horse? agyagh*  
*ais? [Shall I do the horse?].*  
See 186.

*I've have put this for me, tegim-*  
*āhi tetid.*

40. *Do not do this, kissinādi?*

*A good thing, harret ulāgen.*

41. *Stand up! ebde [so Kab. and*  
*Arab.].*

*I halt, stand still, eblēdagh.*

*Rise! enker [so Shilha].*

*I rise, enkēragh.*

*A rising, tennakrat.*

*Sit down, akīm [agīm, aghīm,*  
*Kab.].*

*I sit down, remain, ekēmagh.*

*We have remained long, nekkīm*  
*egēn.*

*Do not stay! ur tákkēme.*

42. *I bow, stoop, edunkeagh.*

*Lie down! gen [so Kab.].*

*He lay down, igen.*

*Cause the camel to lie! niggen*  
*amēnis,*

*I rest myself, insegh.*

*I pass the night, insegh. [So*  
*Kab.].*

*I lie on the side, insegh s alārin.*

43. *Sitting with bent legs, tinekarāft.*  
*Sit thou with bent legs, senekaraf-*  
*fet.*

[*He piqueted a camel, ikerāf*  
*amēnis.*]

*Sit thou with elbows on knees, asi-*  
*bāket.*

*Sitting with elbows on knees, tas-*  
*bīkkit.*

*Sit like Egyptian statues, asirte-*  
*rābūrin.*

44. *I lie in bent form, anékāmegh.*

*I lie on the face, abumbéagh.*

*The boat is capsised, toraft te-*  
*bumbay.*

*I upset (a boat), subumbéagh.*

*I lie outstretched, ezárūgagh.*

[*(The head) is rested, iram-*  
*magh?*]

*I rest the head, eserūmmaghagh.*

*Resting the head, terāmmeghet.*

45. *Wink to him the eye, enrērās tēt;*  
*ensēgūs tēt.*

*I twist up my face, asikaniagh*  
*edymmēni.*

*Blink thou, aunarōnagh.*

*Blinking, tenirōnāghat.*

40. *Yūlägen*, good, handsome, is parti-  
cipial; allied, I think, to *yūlehe*, it suits, it  
is like; in Kab., *elhū*, be thou good; with  
Venture, *ilha*, he was handsome or good.

41. In Kab., *enker* becomes *ekher*.

42. *Alar-in*, my side? Elsewhere, *edis*,  
side.

45. *Asikaniagh* perhaps means *I aim, I*  
*point; as asikken*, aiming with a gun.

*I start up from having a vision,*  
émānomawagh.

*I shut my eyes, and have a vision,*  
emaunaagh.

46. *I am sleepy,* tenedōmagh.

*I doze(d),* enuddemagh.

*Sleep,* ētis, édis (ētis).

*He is asleep,* iṭās, iḏās.

*I want to sleep,* irhēgh élis.

*Sleep is upon me,* ehaihe élis.

*I dreamed,* echorgeagh.

*A dream,* túhorgūt.

47. *I start up (from a dream),*  
iggedagh; ebórdérit [ebor-  
degh-it?].

*I snore,* esákhāregh.

*Suoring,* asakhālu.

*I breathe,* esínfosagh.

*I make a long breath,* etagagh  
infas makkören.

*He put his hands into his arm-  
pits,* ig ifūsenis dag tidardagh  
enis.

48. *Go thou!* mūs: síkel.

*I go [went?],* egeléagh.

[travelled?] esókalagh.

*A traveller,* amasókal.

*I walk,* ergūshagh.

*Let him go!* éyit errēgash!

*I take a ride,* ushīrgūshagh.

49. *I go on horseback,* egeléagh  
nāyagh.

*He rides,* etinne(y).

*Mount ye!* annīyet!

*Cattle for riding,* innemenniye.

50. *I go sporting,* egeléagh ahuyye.

*A sportsman,* amahāyen (plur.?).

*I go by water,* esákalagh dar  
eghírrēu [*I travel by the  
river*].

*I go by land,* elilagh esalīm; per-  
haps, *I follow by the shore*  
(asarim in vocab., but alim in  
224.).

*Following,* alilen. (105. 201.)

*Straight,* isellilet.

*Even, flat,* selilen, nesauel.

*Free,* alil.

*Freed,* nellil.

51. *I come,* asagh.

*I arrive,* ussūgh.

-, wātūgh, wādūgh.

*We are arrived,* newūt.

*Come!* iyu! (Tud.); mellit.  
(Awelm.)

46. In Kab., nudilam, slumber, and ites, sleep; yūrga, he dreamed, tergūt, a dream, tergūt (or tergh-it?), a coal.

47. Iggedagh is, I flew (214.), I leapt. Infus is probably imported from Arabic.

48. Mūs, move thou. For in Delaporte I find itemmusu, s'agite; asemmusegh, je remue. In the Prod. Son, mus = semm, to name or call. The root sh-rgah seems to me formed from rgah. So sh-krsh from krsh; the last radical being prefixed.

49. Ināy, he rides, is the root suggested by the above, and is confirmed by amnāy, a rider, in Delaporte and Venture. In a passage of Zwawā (Kabāil) in De Slane, inig seems to me to mean he rode. Are nāyagh and etinnegh two forms of the present? Or is nāyagh, I rode? In 62., nēyagh, I ride.

51. In Kab., yūsa, he came; wāigh, I am come. Here, asagh and ussigh might seem different in tense. Iwuwit, in Kab., he approached.

52. *We went [we passed], nikka.*  
*The ball passed his head, tesawe*  
*idke eghaf enis.*  
*I wish to go, irhēgh tikaut.*  
*I flee, shun, egewuntagh.*  
*He fled, igēwaf.*
53. *I go in, enter, eggishagh.*  
*Come in to the tent! eggish*  
*ehen!*  
*The rain enters the tent, aman*  
*éskāran dar ehen.*  
*He went up and down, imgha.*  
*He went down, imki (in 209.).*  
*I go about, tamaghagh.*  
 ———, *kelin falānnagh.*
54. *I go out [went out], ebarberagh.*  
*The stars shine out, itāren iknan*  
*ebarbar.*  
*The moon comes out, ayōr ibar-*  
*bar.*  
*I come out of the boat, tabār-*  
*baragh tōraft.*  
*Set them loose! simbāra!*

52. *Ikka*, he passed, he went; Kab. and Shil.: *arigh dahagh*, I wish to go, Temght of Ben Músa.

53. *Eskāran*, in Kab., "doing," *faciens*. *Imgha*, he went up (Kab.); he went down (Ben Músa's Temght); he went up and down (Delaporte's Shilha); and here.

54. *Barbar*, extra, might seem a formative from Arah. *barra*; but the native root is *ebra* in Kabáíl, which exists side by side with *barra*. There is *ibra*, *dimisit*, *repudiavit*? *inebran*, *repudium*; *aberru*, *manumissio*; *innabra*, *emisit* (?); *sinabra*, perhaps the same as *simbara* above.

55. *Oshal* is *āzal* of Kab., correlative to

55. *Run! hasten! oshal, figgedigdig,*  
*akkēra fedigdig.*  
*I run, oshālagh, olékwualégh.*  
*Come back [to me] quick! kalāhi*  
*shik.*  
*I return, come back, ekālagh [kal-*  
*āhi, ekālagh (?). So Kab.,*  
*ikkal, he turned himself. See*  
 25. above].  
*Come near! ahaz!*  
*I approach, áhēzagh.*
56. *He started early, inshaya.*  
*You start early, tinshayat,*  
 (subst.) *tanshit.*  
*I start early, ismargārēgh.*  
 — inshēgh *semmūt [semmūt,*  
*cold, fresh ?].*  
*Early to-morrow, ashikken sem-*  
*mūt.*  
*I start in the afternoon, eduūgh,*  
 (subst.) *tádūit.*  
*I wish to start late, erlēgh tū-*  
*dūit.*

57. *You start to-morrow mornint*  
*from Timbúktu, ke tinshayat*  
*ashikke dag Timbútku.*  
*You pass the heat in Kábāra,*  
*tekélét te Kúbarāten [you*  
*broil].*

'*ujel* of Arabic. *Lekwual* is like *leklek* (to trot) of Arabic, for which we have *kelkel* in Kab. *Shik* is *zik* of Kab.

57. *Ikēla* is here *ikhēla*, Arabic *halā*, he broiled. *Brosslet* gives as Kab. *eklu*, broil thou; perhaps a root common to both languages. *Ekkel* is the imperative for Turn yourself. In fact, to turn and to roast may be modifications of one root.



*You start in the afternoon from  
Kábara, ke teduēt dag te Kú-  
barāten.*

*You lodge in Lenga, temendagh  
Lenga.*

*We pass the heat, nikkēla [we  
broil].*

*Where do we pass the heat to-  
day? indegh dihau demúde  
nikkel ashel idagh?*

58. *We lodge for the night, nemen-  
dagh.*

*I pass the night (I rest), insūgh  
(42.).*

*Where (is it) that we shall rest  
this night, endeg dihā dihenmas  
ehaḡ idagh? [read dinen-  
nas?]*

59. *Thou dost not keep the path, war  
tóherit. [Qu. from Turco-  
Arab., dōghere, straight?]*

*I lose my way, ebelāhi eberík.*

*He has lost his way, ebelās ebe-  
rēk [sefellit eum via].*

58. *Edag or edagh, a place: (edeg iyen,  
one place; annagh edak? what place?)  
Dāj, house with yard in Ghadámsi, which  
= Arab dār. Idegh, he dwelt? (Irhan  
adedekken Bosebango, they want to dwell  
at Bosebango) To this root I am dis-  
posed to refer emendagh. Izdegh, he dwelt,  
is the Kabáíl.*

*Ehad, night, must be ehaḡ. It is esuḡ of  
Ghadámsi, eyheḡ of Wadreagh, yieḡ of Dela-  
porte, yiḡ of Hámed, &c. Tegit in the Tuareg  
(Temght) of Hodgson. The root is seen  
in Arab. عَطَا, obscura fuit nox.*

59. *Yohér, he has kept the track?  
Eberík, road, is Temght of Ben Músa; in  
Kab. ebrid, in Arab. derb.*

*[Ibāhe, it misleads; íbehe, it  
misled?]*

*False, báho.*

*Liar, wambāho.*

*Renowned, anesbāho [boasted of  
extravagantly?].*

60. *He has found his way, enta ig-  
gēro abárráka.*

*I am tired, ildāshagh.*

*Weariness, ildidish.*

*I am very tired, ildāshagh húl-  
len hüllen.*

*My bones are shattered, nek ta-  
táktārau eghasánnini.*

61. *Exhaustion, temáunkit.*

*I repose, ekēmagh dissūn.*

—— *adehāgegh fessagh.*

*Let us repose a little, nehāget  
andurren.*

62. *I ride a horse, néyagh nīs. (49.)*

*I dismount, ezōbegh. (66.)*

*Dismount ye, zōbet.*

*I make the camel lie down, esig-  
gānagh amēnis.*

*Make thy camel lie, siggen amēnis  
innek.*

60. *Iggera (Igra), it lighted upon, is  
surely Arabic jera. The ō in iggēro may  
even be the Arabic pronoun him. [? H.B.]*

*Tataktarau seems akin to karrau or  
kaurau, to be torn, t being inserted as in  
the Arabic 8th form, not a Berber practice.  
The root is not unlike zarau; see below.*

61. *Temáunkit. Compare War ítemanā-  
kit, lest it hurt (him). Perhaps from naka.  
Disun, my side? Edis, side; uyi, eni, of me.*

62. *Zōb in this sense is found in Brosse-  
lard; but the Kabáíl and Shilha for it is  
uguz, ukuz, eggiz. See ged, gōz in 70., and  
oftener kōz in 99.*

*I drive my horse on, egedémmeġh*  
aġsin.

63. *I go fast, égeleġh shik.*

*I make my horse trot, eashisheri-*  
wuēġh aġsin.

*I keep back my horse, eamúsā-*  
nagh aġsin.

*I make him gallop, etegeriwuēġh*  
aġsin.

*I take a ride, ushírgeshagh; ad-*  
summorómaragh.

64. *I will go into a boat, erlēġh*  
ogish-n-tóraft [*I desire the*  
*entering of a boat*].

*I entered a boat, eġíshagh tóraft.*

*I get on the sand, tarásünagh ta-*  
méllelt.

*We have got on the sand, uran-*  
nar-n-akal.

*I disembark, tabarbäragh tóraft.*

*Eyedemmegh, perhaps (Arab. Qedem) I*  
cause to go in front.

*Aġsin, for aġs-ini (see end of 65.), is only*  
a clipt pronunciation.

63. *Eshisheriwuēġh, etegeriwuēġh, seem*  
to show *wuēġh* as marking the 1st person  
of a causative verb, when the root ends in  
*au*. *Shisherau*, perhaps, denotes frequent-  
ative alternative movement, nearly as *she-*  
*resherau*, to work the pump-handle.

*Estámsan, causative, from amásan?*

*Etegeriwuēġh (I set loose?) has et* to  
mark present tense. *I make the root*  
*igherau*, it is easy: whence *egheraugh*, I am  
easier, *yeherowen*, easy; *iharowen*, spa-  
cious.

*Adsummorómaragh* seems to be a cau-  
sative from a frequentative root *mormor*.  
*Ad* marks present time.

64. *Tarásünagh (from yarásan,) he*

65. *Do we cross in a boat? nisġer*  
is tóraft?

*Or have we to go on foot? mēr*  
essi sídaránnanagh?

*I cross a river, isġeragh.*

*I ford a river, nek yer teawent.*

*Take my horse through the river,*  
kuletāhi aġseni.

66. *I pass a town, kayetánnagh.*

*Shall we sleep in Kabara, or*  
*pass it? awak nemendagh e*  
*Kábaraten, mer nokaitenit?*

*I alight (and take quarters) at*  
*the house of a certain man,*  
ezubbeġh rūr halis iyen.

*I climb down, nek azúbbeġh.*

*Mohammed E' sghír [probably?]*  
*will lodge with El Bakáy,*  
Mohammed eṣṣghír kodósen  
azubbet rūr El Bakáy.

67. *I change my dwelling, ehónnagh.*

touched? he grazed? *Tursar* (211.), ran  
aground.

65. *Essi* may seem to be the Latin *num*,  
an, as is in Delaporte's *Kabáíl*.

*Isġer* is *izġer* in *Kabáíl*, perhaps more  
correct.

*Yer* may seem to be for *yegh*, first per-  
son of a verb, so as to mean "I keep the  
ford" (*teawent* is a ford); but *eygi*, in  
Barth, means let, leave, being the *Kabáíl*  
*ejji*.

*Kulet*, plural, from root *kul*? Compare  
*ihel*, he marched: or is *t* radical?

66. *Ikdyetun*, he passed. Compare *ikka*,  
52., and *yukaine*, 147.

*Awak*, Latin "utrum?" *Mer*, "an."

*Imendagh*, he lodged? See 58.

67. *Yehón*, he encamps? moved his  
camp? (*Ehe, ehan*, a tent.) *Ijóenit* and

*The Tademáket have transferred their encampments at Gundam to Bosebango, Tademekket ijónenit ahónenit rör Gundam, irhan adedekken Bosebango.*

68. *I swim, shāfagh.*

*Do you understand swimming? ke tezay elishaf?*

69. *I dance, dellillagh.*

*I play, edellagh.*

*He understands dancing extremely well, issan dellul yulāghen hullen.*

70. *I spring, tágēdagħ.*

*I spring over a ditch, agédēregh átēras atukkēk.*

*He jumped down from his camel, egedārit fel tārik. [Fel is upon: down must be in the verb.]*

*ahónenit* seem two verbs of same tense? *enit*, marks 3rd pl. fem.

*Adedekken* = *adedegħghen*? See 58.

68. *El-ishaf.* If *el* is here the Arabic article, *shāf* ought to be imported Arabic. Golius has *zāf*, explicuit alas ac caudam; which easily becomes *natavit*. *Ke tezay* = *tezayt*, it seems. In 89., *ezay* = *esan*, he understood.

69. *Kab., zullel*, to pirouette. In *Shilha*, *adilulan*, teaching, is from Arab. *dell*, a different root.

70. *Tāgedagħ* (also), I fly; *igged*, he flew; see 47. *Egedārit* and *agédēregh* are from another verb, *igeder*, or even *ider*, if *ag* here marks tense. *Ider*, he came down, as in *Kab. iter*.

*Aterās* = *Ader-as*?

*Atukkēk*, a ditch.

71. *I climb up (a mountain, a tree), tewīnagh (adar, ehīabk).*

*I limp [sink down?], agōzeagh.*

*I get down? agōzeagh.*

*The thief climbed up the house in the night, and dropt into the middle of it, amakārad awen tārashām das ehād, atarākat dar amāsenis.*

*I fall, nōla(gh) (see 104.), nis-trekegh.*

*He fell, isētrek, atarākātet.*

*I threw down, satarakegh.*

72. *I trip, stumble, tersellādagh, nek agértātūf.*

*I slide down, nek abūrzaawerit. [See eborderit in 47.]*

*I strip my hand of skin, azc-lēbbegh.*

*I limp, ehīagħgh.*

*That camel limps with his right foot, amenis wādagh ehīak s aqar-n-arēl.*

73. *I sing, nek egananāsehak.*

*Do the Tawārek sing? Imó-shūgħe igananāsehak?*

71. *Iwwen*, *Ghad.*, he went up; and *Kab., thasawin*, an eminence. *Awen* here = *iwwen*.

*Das*? some proposition.

*Atarak*, drop; *isatarak*, he threw down, let drop; yet *isētrek* neuter verb.

72. *Irsellad*, he struck the foot against.

*Agégh taṭuf*, I have made a catching.

*Aqar-n-arēl*, foot of the right.

73. *Aēzhak* = *azēghak* = *aghēzak* by transposition; a song, or singing? Also *anaya*, a song. In *nek eganan* we must see the participle *iganan*, canens; but *eganan* is

*They are very fond of singing,*  
irhánne adigérëshen tárezék  
hullen.

*They have their peculiar songs,*  
entenot lan tarezék imánne-  
sen.

*Sing me a nice song,* auiyáhi  
asáhak ihösken; egähle anaya  
ihösken.

74. *I laugh,* dāzagħ, tedāzagħ.

*Thou laughest too loud,* ke hik ta-  
dīs lebāset [*tu, est tibi risus*  
*pravus*].

*Much laughing is not becoming,*  
tādasit tegēt war tawége.

75. *I smile,* asibāksagħ.

*A smile,* tibeksit.

*I cry out,* egerēgh [egherēgh].

[*I*] moan, tenétēkkēt, telénēšēt.

*I weep,* hālagħ.

*Why do you weep?* mefel tehālit?  
mas hālit?

*Do not weep,* war telhēt.

76. *I am silent,* esōsanagħ.

*Be silent,* sūsin.

77. *I am sorry,* nek ezenesjūmo.

*I* [?] *am vexed,* igrāwent nis-  
gam.

*Do not be vexed, ease your mind*  
[*lift up your heart?*], sūli ul-  
hinnek.

78. *I do not dissemble,* isākānagħ  
imāni [*I show myself*].

[*He dissembles*], war sēkēne imān-  
nis.

*You dissemble,* tesīrmārāday.

*I am content, I allow, permit,*  
ekebēlagħ. (*Arab., Kab.*)

79. *I trust,* efelūsegh.

*Confidence,* tefēlist, tifillas.

canunt: for *eghannan*? the root is Arabic,  
*ghann*.

*Tarezék, tarezék* = *taghezék*.

*Irhánne* = *irhan*, they love; see 33.

*Lan*, there were? = *ellan*.

*Adigereshen* implies *igeresh*, he recited?  
Compare *gher*; and *ghered*, warble, as  
Arabic.

74. *Yedez*, he laughed (B. M.'s Temght).

*Tadiz, tādazit*, laughter.

*Lebāset* must be feminine for *lebāsent*,  
from *ilabāsen*, bad.

*Tegēt* for *tegent*, fem., from *egen*, much.  
But, in 39, *teyēt*, thou hast done.

*Wége* also seems to be a root (compare  
Arab. *wejah*,—qu. spectabilis est) for *decut*.  
Hence fem. *tawége*; and *war inliūegi*, it  
cannot be, (it will not do).

75. *Gher* (here as in Kab.), is to call, to  
cry, to read; uniting Hebrew *hara*, call,

and Arabic *hara*, read. The *h* is often  
found for *gh*; Hodgson says, wrongly.

*Ihāl*, he weeps; compare Heb. and Ar.  
*hallel*, and Engl. wail. In Delaporte's  
*Shilha*, *allun*, weeping, *isillan*, causing to  
weep; *h* omitted.

76. In Kab. *sūsim*, be silent. Compare  
Arab. *ṣamat*, siluit; *ṣamm*, obturavit, os  
repressit.

77. *Anesgum*, or rather *anezgum*, seems  
to mean sorrow (as in Kab.); but for the  
verb nothing nearer appears than Arab.  
*hazan*, of which I have thought it an in-  
verted corruption. *Nek ezenesjūmo*, for  
*nek es enezgūm-o*, I (am) in my sorrow?

*Igraw-ent*, see 60.

*Suli*, in Kab., lift up, cause to rise.

*Ulhi*, heart (Kab. *uli*), Arab. *ḥalb*, Heb.  
*lib*, display the same elements, though in  
disguise.

*He confided* (in African Arabic),  
falash (seems to be the same  
root).

*I am merry*, nek ellēwe.

80. *I pity him*, nek egēras [egēghas ?]  
tehānit.

*I do not pity him*, urhas ger  
[gegh ?] tehānit.

*Have mercy on me*, adenāhi te-  
hānit.

*I am angry* } etkārāgh,  
(*Sutan has en-* } eggesh āhe Eb-  
*tered me*), } līa.

*Why are you angry with me?* mas  
ke, tējés falē (or felāhi) atkar.

81. *He dishonoured him before all*  
*the world*, tezēmit dedēsin idī-  
net rūrret.

*I slight you*, tézēmegh fellek, nek  
tezēmākay.

[*Slight, dishonour*], tisēmīt.

79. *Ellewegh*, I am merry. Elsewhere,  
illewen, they were merry. *Teslaui*, latifi-  
casti. *Olewet*, happy; olūa, fem. tolūa,  
wide, spacious; qu. lāxus, lagus, liber.  
Also frequentative, lūelūe, it was let go?  
See 97.

80. *Tehānit* would recall Heb. and Arab.  
hann.

*Eger, ger*, perhaps for *egēgh*, I make.

*Aden-ahi*, spread over me?

*Etkār, atkar*, should be *etkakh*, or rather  
*etkah*, *athah*, but the Tawārek cannot  
sound h. It is Kab. *echchah*, Arab. *ajjah*.  
But *etkar* means "full;" Kab. *echchur*.  
See 103.

*Tējés* = *tegesh*, enters?

81. *Tesēmegh, tezēmegh*. Root, *ezem* (de-  
ficiency, Kab.?). *Izem*, he slighted; *ite-*  
*zem*, he slights. *D edēs in-*, at side of?

*He has dishonoured me*, enta te-  
zēmāhi.

*I fear*, eksōdagh.

*Do not fear*, ur teksōk [teksōd].

*Do not tremble*, ur termāga.

*Thou art impatient, unsteady*,  
ke termādet.

*I hide myself*, ofārāgh imāni;  
bikegh imāni; esiddūkik.

*I cover my face with my hands*,  
hūragh idēmīn.

82. *I take care*, ugūsagh.

*Beware of that man*, ehēwet  
halis wūdagh, agas-n-niet.

*He is of a treacherous disposition*,  
erādar (ughūdar?).

*I do not care*, war ekōlagh.

*Take care of the luggage*, agis  
ilālen.

83. *I wait for you*, ezēdargh fillek.

*Wait for him*, zedar filles.  
malārēn?

*He is impatient*, enta war izēdar.

*Termāga*: but *terimmek*, anxiety (with *k*),  
and *termādet* (with *d*). In Kab. *eryigi*,  
tremble.

*Esiddākik* (-kigh? -ghigh?). From *si-*  
*deris* (sideghis?), "secretly," we might lay  
down *sidegh*, as the root. But *ised eghaf*  
*ēnis*, "he hides his head," gives us simply  
*ised*, he hides, and *esiddākik*, I hide thee.

*Idemin*, perhaps, is dual, Two cheeks;  
Barth has *idēmāwen* (139.) for faces, pl.:  
root *udem*, cheek, face, Kab.

82. *Ehewet* = *egewet*, of 52. "shun."

*Niet*? [In Delaporte's *Shilha* the word  
means "even," *même*.]

*Ikōl*, he cares. Compare the Hausa  
verb *kula*, to care, in the Rev. Mr. Schön's  
vocabulary, and *ekull* in 104.

84. *I recall to mind (my friends),*  
nek esimmiqtāghēt imaraweni.

*I am not thinking at all, war*  
inēhi šbēlu. (*Thought does*  
*not find me?*)

*I remember, nek esimmesūyā-*  
kal (?) or kagh (?)

85. *I have forgotten, etuagh.*

*Thou hast forgotten, tetuat.*

*Forgetfulness, tatat.*

*I am accustomed to —, nek*  
esilmadārak isūl-n- —.

*I am accustomed to smoke much,*  
nek eshuaragh almeddak tesc-  
sēn taba [*cæpi discam haustum*  
*tobacci*].

*I teach you, nek esalmūdakay.*

86. *I know, sūnagh.*

*I do not know, ur essūnagh.*

84. *Iktha, cogitavit, seems to be the*  
Kab. root. Hence *imekthi*, secum repu-  
tavit; and here, *isimmikti*, the causative.

*Imarau-eni, my friends? my sorrows?*  
Elsewhere *immerawen*, mutual weeping:  
root, *ru*, sobbing, Kab. But *imidaueni*, my  
friends (Prod. Son); *imidi*, a friend.

*Esimmesūyagh*, suggests a root, *uyak*  
or *uyak*; but *esimmesūyaghak* (I remember  
thee) a root *suya*. Both are strange to me.

85. *Itu, he forgot, Kab.*

*Ilmed* (Arab. and Heb.), he learned;  
*isilmed*, he taught; here, he learned.

*Esilmadārak* has a syllable too much;  
read *esilmadagh*. Then, *akisul* or *isul* means  
custom?

*Almeddak* = *Almeddagh*, (ut) discam.

*Ishuar* is for Kab. *izwar*, he began. So  
*teshuar torau*, incipit pariat = parturit.

*Tesēs en taba*; *en* is the prep. "of?"

87. *Egerah, understand thou? So agrū-*

*Do you not know? ke war tessi-*  
nab?

*I am puzzled, nek amdéggēg.*

87. *I understand, egerāhagh.*

*I have not understood what*  
*you said, war egerāhagh meg-*  
*gerit.*

*I understand a little Tarkiye,*  
*egerāhagh andūrren da Temā-*  
*shight.*

*I cannot speak it, war dōbegh*  
assokel enis.

88. *I am learning Tarkiye, etātāragh*  
almud en Temāshight [*peto*  
*doctrinam*].

*I know the Kurān by heart, ik-*  
fāsagh el Kurān; etāfagh.

*het, science. It seems to be a pure native*  
root, as *isen*, he knew.

*Meggerit* is explained by Barth as *me*  
*gerit* = *me gherit*; or, rather, *me teghrit*, what  
thou hast called out. *Meggered* (*me-*  
*ghered*) is a harangue. See 29.

*Da*, not certain *Temāshight*, as *Imāshaghe*,  
for Kab. *Temazight, Imōzaghe*.

*Assokel*; see 25.

88. *Itar, petiit. In Kab. I know only*  
the causative *isuthar*, petiit, which is com-  
mon. De Slane, in a Berber (Shilha?)  
poem has *idder* and *iter*; viz. *icellik idder-*  
*nin*, toi que l'on implore (τοῖς σε λισσομέ-  
νους?); and *win itran*, he who wishes  
(ὁ ἰτρών).

*Ikfas* is corrupt Arabic. *Hafiz*, حافظ.

*Etāfagh*, I have caught or held fast,  
often has *w*, as though *wafaf* were the root.

It is Arab. حطف, whether native or im-  
ported. Common in Kab. See another  
*etaf* in 208.

89. *Teach me Tefinaghen*, agimék-kähe Tefinaghen.

*I acquaint, inform you*, clárë-ghak.

*I read*, nek raragh [gharagh].

*Read*, tégëri [téghëri].

*I have read with the most learned of the Kelissük*, nek égërék rör el fakkiren Kelissük ezay (esan) tégëri hullen.

90. *I write*, katübagh. (*Arab.*)

*Written*, iktab.

*I count*, esedanagh.

*Counted*, isëdan.

*Are these courries counted, or not?* tingel idagh isëdlänen, mer war isëdlänen?

*What is the name of this in Tarkie?* wädagh, innagh is-mennis se Temáshight?

*Your name?* isménnek?

91. *I pray*, umädagh. [From *Arab.* *amad*, which degenerated from the idea of *confirming* into the ecclesiastical *baptizing*.]

*Have you finished your prayer?* ke tesýmdet timadénnek?

92. (*I*) *fold (my) hands* [fingers], asimmékeris isikkäden.

*Fold ye your hands*, simmekeris-sit isikkädenawen.

*I fast*, ezömagh. [*Arab.* *šöm.*]

*Are you fasting?* ke tazömet?

93. *I have had, once I had*, kälä ille. [Kälä, once upon a time; ille, there was? röri or ghöri seems wanting.]

*I have not*, war rör ille [read, war röri ille].

*I have nothing to eat*, war iktë-fagh akshegh [*non sufficio* (*quod*) edam].

94. *I add, give more*, esewädagh.

*Add to me a little*, sewadähi andürren.

*I arrive*, wädagh [wätagh].

*We are arrived*, nuat [newät].

(*The cold*) *decreases*, esenäs.

*I lessen*, nek afenis-tennet (?).

— (*of fluids*), esodëbärng.

89. *Aginek*, teach thou?

*Ilar*, he informed? *Ilagh?* compare *Ar. lagha*, locutus fuit.

*Ezay*, peritus fuit; as appears by comparing this with 68. *Esan* is *isan*, scivit, as in 86. The verb should be plural here? *Egerek*=*eghëreggh*; and the vowel of the penultimate distinguishes the past tense from *gharagh*, present tense.

91. *Tesýmdet* belongs to an important root, *imëda*, it is finished (36.); *imda* in Delaporte's Shilha. Barth has *ejumädade*, (the nights) are passed. Causative, *isimda*, he ended. Also *imende* [=imemde?], (our

food) is finished, gone. See further under 103.

93. *Kälä*, une fois; Kab. *thekkilt*; Shilha, *wal*.

*Iktefa*, seems to be the Arabic 8th form, from *kefa*, and not to be connected with *ikfa*, he gave, unless this is itself only a corruption of the Arabic verb.

94. *Sewad* [sewat] seems to me the causative of *iwat*, a root common in Kab. Thus *iwat*, accessit; *isewat*, addidit.

*Andürren*, a little, combined with *ma-druin*, small, gives a root *dru*. In Kab., *edrus*, a little. The *s* must once have been

95. *Bring me something*, auyobëet harret.

*I bring it to you*, waueghakit.

*I leave, let*, nek öyagh.

*Let him go (walk)*, eyit érrëgesh.

96. *I set free a slave*, sidderfagh ákëll.

*A freed slave*, ákëll néllil.

*A freedman*, áðërif.

*I divorce a woman*, ezimmízeagh támato.

*I marry*, itidíbonagh.

*He has divorced his former wife*, izimmäze hannis, túdlagh rōris tille [*quæ ei erat*].

(*And*) *has married a young girl*, awe taliad andúrret. (On *awe*, see 95.)

97. *I hold fast*, etáfagh.

*We take* [*lay hold of*], nutfef.

*Catch it, hold it*, óttuſt. (See 88.)

*Hold fast the cord*, átef írriwi.

*Let go the cord*, selluelüe írriwi.

*I let go*, selluelüeragh.

98. *Pluck off*, ékas.

*I take off, pluck*, ekäsagh.

*Raise, take away*, [tolle!] atkal.

*I carry off*, átkalagh.

*I put the load on the camel*, otä-gergh ilälen fel amënis; nek etajejje gh ilälen.

[*He heaped things upon him*], cgag fellas ilälen.

99. *I take the load (from the camel)*, etaközagh ilälen; ezözebagh ilälen (fel amënis).

a pronoun: *edrus*, a little of it. See also *endurret*, in 96., for young.

95. In Kab., *awid*, bring to me hither; *yüwi*, he brought, led.\* *Auyohi* must be formed of *auwi*, bring; *ähi*, to me. In 96., *awe* (= *yüwi*) duxit, for married.

*Oyagh* is a different verb, imperative.

*Eyyi*, let, leave; in Kab., *ejji*.

96. *Nëllil*, freed, from *alil*, free. A root of very like sound is in 105., and another in 50. *Izimiz*; see in 81, *izem*, he dishonoured.

*Hannis*, wife, and *hulis*, man, are peculiar to Temght. [Qu. *halis*, a "fellow;" *hannis*, "his mate?"]

*Taliad*, lass; *iliad*, lad, are very like Arab. *welad*, son, which in Temght also appears as *abarad*.

97. *Sellueluer*? But see 79.

\* In Prod. Son, *tauyem*, tullatlis; *ahauyet*, agite ferte! *Ehwayamas*, [read *etwayamas*], educatlis el.

98. There are four roots in Kab. with the radicals *ks*: (1.) *Ekhes*, aufer, exue; *ikhes*, exuit. (2.) *Eks*, pasce (pecus); *iksa*, pavit; *ikes*, pascit. (3.) *Ihes*, pupugit, momordit (serpens). (4.) *Eksu*, plica; *iksa*, plicuit; *ikessu*, plicat. To the 3rd I refer Delaporte's *confregit arbores ventus*. I have tried to resolve (2.) and (3.) into *vulsit*, *carpsit*. See also *iks* in 167.; *ekus*, 213.

*Atkal* at first seems to be the Arabic *thaqal*; but Ben Músa spells it with simple *k*, not *h*. Yet *atkël*, government.

In Ghad. *jejüy* means laden. We have here a root *gag*, *yak* or *gagh*, meaning to heap or load; frequentative, *jejje gh*. *Otä-gergh* is present tense (for *otägeghagh*?), and *etajejje gh* apparently the frequentative.

99. *Etaközagh* might seem to mean, "I come down," but it is here causative: as *ezözebagh* for *esözebagh*, because (I suppose) *s* becomes *z* through the proximity of



- I put on the (horse's) saddle, nek ekéral alakif; nek esewüragh alakif.*  
*Put the saddle on, sünar elakif.*  
*I take the saddle off, ekássagh elakif. (98.)*
100. *I seek, look for, étüragh. (88.)*  
*What do you look for? ma te-túrret?*  
*Search well, ummagh hullen. (81.)*  
*I entreat, beg, etüragh [another form of the present, for etütüragh?].*
101. *I send, esökegh.*  
*I call for, úgaragh [úgheragh?]*  
*Call him, úgëret [agherët?]*  
*I show, esekënegh [point out].*  
*Show me the road, sekenähi abarraka.*  
*I do not show you, nek war esekenaghak.*
102. *I collect, etawaragh.*  
*I hid [stored up?] etwaragh.*  
*I cover (my face with my hands), haragh.*  
*[We met there?], nemökandis.*  
*Where did ye meet him? kawenit ödagh atamökätëm röris?*  
*[Vos, quo loco convenistis ad eum?]*  
*The people gather in one place, idinet yemökäsen s edeg syen.*
103. *The market is full, ewüet yétkar.*  
*The people go asunder, idinet ibbedä.*  
*The tribe is scattered, tausit tesimande.*
104. *I [we?] salute you, nigorak es säläm.*  
*Salute him, úgëras es säläm.*

the other *z*. The roots *küz*, *güz*, *zob* are named in 62.

*Fel* (upon) is used both of taking down and putting up.

*Ekeralagh? ekeral, gird?* In 160. *ireled*, he girded, which perhaps should be *igheled*.

*Sewar*, put on; and *et-awaragh*, I collect (102.), seem to be akin. But see *owar*, in 113.

101. *Isöka*, he sends, is possibly the causative of *ika*, he passed; fem. *töka*.

*War esekenaghak*. Here, as in 105., the power of *war* to attract the accus. pron. is neglected. Elsewhere, as in 106., 129, we have the Kabáíl or normal order.

102. *Imökas* is the only instance I have

observed of *s* and *r* interchanging. In Broselard we read *imugger* and *imigger*, *convénit*. In Delaporte the *g* becomes *k*. There is also in Kabáíl *inger*, he reaped, and *imyer*, it was thrown; passive, from *ger*.

103. Elsewhere, *asimande*, with a torn dress; *témminde* (the tribe) is extirpated: *ezzud immende*, our provisions are gone. These three suggest that tearing and rending are the essence of a root *imende*. But as this word means (the food) *is finished*, (see 91.), possibly all belong to the root *imëda*, 36.

104. *Ager-as*; either "throw salute," from *ger*, or "cry out salute," from *gher*; *aghëras*. See 101.

- I seize your hand, aṭāfagh afōs enik.*  
*I embrace him, ekúllēghas.*  
*He fell on his neck, and kissed him, yūdar fel erinnis ahāsi timullut.*  
*I embrace his knees, (and) kiss them, nekōdēgh fel fadēnnis, ahāsen e timúllut.*  
*A kiss, tamōlit [tamōlirt: tamōlight?].*  
*I kiss, emólēragh [emólēghagh?].*  
 105. *I follow thee, nek elkamākay.*  
*Follow him, elkemt.*  
*I obey or follow, nek elilal [elilagh].*  
*Does El Khadīr obey the orders of Alkúttābu? El Khadīr elil Alkúttābu?*  
*He does not obey him, wār yīl-kēmit.*  
*I refuse to submit to thee, nek ugarāghak sérhu.*

*Ekull*, cherish thou? See *ekōl* in 82. Different are *ikel* (?), he marched, *iggel*, he turned aside, *igla*, he broiled: roots liable to confusion. Also *kūlet* in 65.

*Odēgh*, I fall? *nōdagħ*, we fall (71.), *war tidu*, lest thou fall; if to be so written denote a root. *Idu* (compare *dau*, under.) But if *tidu* is untrustworthy, *adar*, or rather *aṭar*, is the root; in Kab. to go down.

*Faden* (*ifaden*?) pl. of *afūd*, knee?

*Aha*-sen. *Aha*=*Aga* of 39?

*Imōler* (*imōlēgh*), he kisses?

105. *Elkem* in Kab. "arrive." Qu. may *ilkem*, "pertinuit," explain the double use?

*That tribe has revolted against their chief, tausit tādagh (tindegħ) irhēt amanōkal nissen.*

106. *Help me!* *dehelāhi.*

*I help you, edehelaghak.*

107. *Make place [for me], shinkō-shin fēlle.*

108. *I honour you, esimgharāghak.*

*He has not honoured me, warhi isimghar.*

109. *I bear witness to you, egehāghak.*

*Bear me testimony, gebāhi.*

*I swear, ehādagh [I swore?].*

*I swear, ohādagh.*

*I swear falsely, ehādagh-s-bāho.*

*He swore falsely, yehad-s-bāho.*

*Serhu*, victory, primacy. *Yūgar* (Shilha and Kab.) "it exceeds," and so once (I think) in Barth. Thus *ugaraghak serhu* may seem to mean "supero tibi præstantiam."

*Irhēt*. Barth suspects it should be "*war irhēt*," loves not. Final *t* is then useless. May not *t* be radical, and *irhat* mean *dejecit, excussit*?

*Amanōkal*, chief. *Tinmoholen*, they invest their chief, 125. *Athēl*, government (spelt *تكل* by Ben Mūsa). These words, with the term "*kōl*," seem peculiar to Temáshight.

106. *Idēhel*, he helped?

108. *Isimghar* (he made great), as in Kab. is from the root *mekḡur*, great; the *k* becoming *gh* in the causative, as in some other verbs.

109. *Geh*, "testify thou," shows the root of the Kab. *inige(h)*, a witness; in Shilha also *engi*.

*I make peace between them,*  
etēnāgh tināhāren [*I speak*  
*goodness? protection?*].

110. *I go to law, esherragh. (Arab.)*  
-, nek amisten.

*I overcome you at law, irnē-*  
*ghak se sheriat.*

*I am cast in a suit, etiwarnagh;*  
*(the money is lost), éhēri in-*  
*ekshe.*

111. *I praise, egeriddagh.*  
*(thee?), nek elakú-*  
*dākay.*

*I praise God, gödēr Mesī [gō-*  
*dēgh?].*

*I promise to you safe conduct;*  
*I engage to you my faith,*  
*egishērak alkawel.*

*I will not betray (you), war*  
*ighadaragh.*

*Tindhārēn* is explained by Barth as  
"protection" and also "goodness." Com-  
bine it with *ehēri*, wealth, and perhaps  
with Arab. *kheir*, good, since *khīr* is common  
in Kab.

110. *Irna* (Kab.), superavit, *irnu*, su-  
perfruit; two verbs which are hard to keep  
separate. (*Irna* in Venture is, il triomphe.)  
Here we have active and passive, *irnēgh*,  
superari, *etiwarnagh*, superatus sum. See  
the preliminary remarks.

*Inekshe*, strictly, I think, "is eaten;"  
a sort of Niphal passive, from *ekshe*.

111. On *egerid* (*egherid?*), see 29.

*Elakādākay*, from *ilakad?*

*Egisherak*, or *egishegh-ak?* I enter to  
thee.

*Alkawel* is corrupt Arabic. *Ghadar* also  
is Arabic.

*Irkshe* seems a mistake for *ighshen* (a

*I break faith (with thee), nek*  
*irkslēdak alkawel.*

*He has broken faith (with me),*  
*enta irksheḏāhi alkawel: ar-*  
*zar da alkawel.*

112. *I have made him confess by some*  
*means or other, nek esleúkak*  
*estiwit tézar alaretāhi gaway*  
*ōkar.*

*I deny, odelagh.*

*(I refuse to you?), nek odéla-*  
*kay, odélagħ el khūr innēk.*

*I refuse to you, nek endarūkay.*

*I punish you, nek akazābākay.*

*He has refused (to) me, inda-*  
*rāhi.*

[*He refused to me speech con-*  
*cerning it?*], *indarāhi meg-*  
*gered sirs.*

113. *Pardon me! enshāhi.*

*I pardon you, enshāghak.*

*Pardon me, O Lord! e Mesī,*  
*takfūt felle.*

*Ransom him, sókūlas téffēdaunt*  
*enis.*

participial form), "deceiving" (see 115.),  
from Arabic *ghesh*, decepit.

*Arzar*: *irza*, he broke.

112. *Yōdel*, he denied?

*Indar*, he refused. So 218.

*Azab*, seems to be Arab. *āḏab*, torment:  
but what is *ak* before it? Does *k* replace  
lost *ain*?

113. *Insha*, he pardoned, recalls Arab.  
*nesa*, he forgot.

*Takfūt*, "thou hast forgiven," as from  
*akfū*. The *k* is a corruption of *ain*, from  
Arabic *ʾafū*.

*Téffēdaunt*, ransom, from Arab. *fedā*.

*Sókūlas*, return (repay) for him. See 25.

- I wrong you*, nek ówaradakay [ówaranakay?].  
*Thou wrongest me*, tówaradāhi.
114. *I doubt, hesitate, am mistaken*, nek amdiggeg.  
*I am not mistaken as to what I said*, nek war amdiggeg tidid, au annēgh.  
*Sins*, pl. ibakkūden.  
*I commit sin*, nek eger [egegh] ebāket. [Ghad. Bekkūden, sins.]  
*I am authorised*, egelāyegh.  
*I have been longing for you*, ezóweragh.
115. *I disturb you*, nek ashelánakay.  
*You disturb me*, ke teshledāhi ke tekesadāhi makūna nawa kannak.  
*Let me alone*, aiyāhi; (*trouble me not*), war shillāhi.  
*I tickle*, nek akerittegh (té-mandan).
116. *I envy thee*, nek munshégghakay.  
*'Abidín envies Bakáy on ac-*
- count of [the Ultye]*, 'Abidín emunshagh El Bakáy fel temust innia.
- I cheat you, betray you*, nek ghadáarakay (Arab.), nek ighdáraghak.
- Thou hast cheated me*, tagh-darredāhi.
117. *I steal*, ókäragh. (So Kab.)  
*Theft*, tókar (and tékärak, below).  
*A thief*, amkarād. (So Kab.)  
*Thieves have stolen my camel*, imakarāden ókaren amēnis eni.  
*The Kel-ulli are expert in stealing*, Kel-ulli idābabén dag té-küarak.  
*I seduce (?)*, nek takárāsak.  
*That man has seduced the woman (?)*, halis adagh etúkaras tamándant.
118. *I take vengeance*, nek azālagh erāni.  
*Vengeance is sweet*, tamāzilt-nera tazēd.

Owar, injure thou (?). Towarat, 2nd pers.

114. Tidid, true? truth?

Au=awwa, that which.

Ezöragh, from Arab. zör, violence?

115. Shela, disturb, bustle. See oshel, 55. Akeritti (tickle thou?). In Kab. ekreḡ, rake, scrape. Below, karrauet is torn.

116. Imunshagh, he envied; amōshagh (amonshagh?), envious.

Fel, upon; temust, affair.

117. Yükar, yōkar, he stole, seems to have secondary verbs, yekarad, yekarak, yekaras.

Tamandant=tamattut of Kab.? The form does not seem to recur.

Ikaras in the Prodig. S. is used for igharas, he slaughtered.

118. Erā, the debt of blood. Azal was at first written by Barth as with ص.

I suspect it is here سال, and means demand. Zal is of many roots in Kab.

Azēd, azid, sweet.

- He has revenged on them the blood of his father, izel dassen úshēni-n-shís.*  
*I beat you, nek wūtak.*  
*He beat him, till the blood came out, yawat, har tegmad áshen.*  
 119. *I imprison, ergellagh (awādagħ iyen).*  
*A prison, ehe-n-errēgal.*  
*I put in chains, egegh úsēsar dar erinnis [I do a chain on his neck].*  
*I put a waistchain on his back, a handcuff on his hands, gegħ teshim dar darannis, gegħ tiyat dar afasánnis.*  
 120. *I circumcise, nek emánkūden, (particip.)*  
*Circumcised, imankad, pl. iman-kūden.*  
*I castrate, nek emeleūgh.*  
 121. *I wound somebody, sabúyūsagh awādem.*

- He is wounded, abūyis (?)*  
*Wounded, anasbūyas.*  
 122. *I box the ear, asittegh.*  
*I slap the face, edebarāhagh.*  
*I kick, stamp with the foot, ter-séllādagħ.*  
*I strike with the knee, nek tes-men kássādagħ.*  
*I give a foil, nek esillāras [esillāghas].*  
 123. *I wrangle, nek táyēragħ shél-kīkān.*  
*I cut (off) his head, nek tesúg-gōrast [tesúggōgh-as-t].*  
*Strangle thou (him), orēa-s.*  
*I strangle (him), nek orēūgh-as.*  
 124. *I go to war, iggelēgh dagħ égēhen. [Egehen, an inroad, or military expedition.]*  
*The people gather, idnet ti-dauen.*  
*They intend an expedition, yebōken égēhen.*

*A'shēni*, blood, is nearly as in Hausa. In Kab. we find *idenmin*, as if Arabic pl. *Shi* or *tī*, father.

*Yawat*, "he beat," is the root, as in Kab. *Tegmad* (with adverbial *d* final), from *igem*, he went out; Temght, not Kab.

119. *Irēgel*, he imprisoned?

*Eri*, neck (in Kab.); *fel erinnis*, on his neck (Prodig. Son). *Dar* (= *daffir*, back? see the prepositions). *Ifasan*, hands. I infer that *úsēsar* is a collar or neckband, *teshim*, a waistchain, *tiyat*, a handcuff.

121. From 129., *buyis* (or *aboyis*?), a wound. The causative verb is *sabayas*, wound thou; the passive (or Niphal), *ine-buyis*, he was wounded. Also *anasbūyas* (particip.), wounded.

*Awādem*, from Heb. and Arab. *adam*, man. 122. *Ibarūh*, he slapped? (*Ibarūgh*, he treated insolently?) See *Abārūgh* in 138.

123. *Isugg*, he cut off?

*Orēa*, strangle, may be compared with *eri*, neck, Kab. and in 119.

124, 125. *Igēle*, he went or set off, seems to me the same root as *tehlēli*, starting setting off, which in Kab. is *tikli* or *thikli*. I ventured to propose writing the verb *ikhēli* (see 232.), and regarded *sikel* (travel) as its causative (viz. cause to go, i. e. make the beasts start); as Arab. *sūk*. But Barth insists that *igēle* is necessarily sounded with *g*, and *tekhēli*, *sikkel* with *k*.

*Idnet*; Arab. *dunia*, world? The word pervades North Africa.

- They deliberate*, emsākan mēden.
125. *They are about to start*, yobōken tékčli.  
*The expedition takes horse*, égčhen írkeb. (Arab.)  
*They invest their chief*, tinmóhōlen amanōkal nissen.  
*The expedition left*, egčhen égčle.  
*We shall fight*, adeneknés. [Ek-nās, battle.]
126. *The expedition attacked*, egčhen óhak.  
*They fell upon the cattle*, ehōkan ishítan.  
*They plunder the tents*, úsfeken ihánnan.  
*They take away everything*, atáfēn auay ilādiēn der rurret (they seize whatever (is) there of the whole.)  
*They take the male and female*
- slaves*, ígfālen íkčlan e tiké-lāten.
127. *They lead away the horses*, wot-tan íyesan. [They bring up? See iwāt in 94.]  
*They drive away the cows*, óhāgen iwan.  
 — the woolly sheep, óhāgen tikíndemén.  
 — the (hairy) sheep, óhāgen tihatēn.  
 — the goats, óhāgen ulli.
128. *There was nothing but weeping of the women and children*, war akímu har tidēdēn e iliāden immerauen dag timshagh. [N. B. e, and; as 126. 130.]  
*They fought hard*, úsāsān ágčzar.  
*They would not flee*, war ebōkan égewet. (52.)

*Emsākan* seems to have *m* as a reciprocal form.

*Mēden*, men, as in Kab.

125. *Íbōki* is clearly used just as in Kab. *ibgha*, he will, he is about, he means; and seems to be the same word. Yet the latter is identical with Arab. *bagha*, decuit, from which I think it is borrowed. See 125.

*Imōkel* for *Imōkel*? See 105.

126. *Óhak, ohag*, in Temght, are the root awagh of Kab., but take a stronger sense. awagh is "sume," but *ohag*, "cape, rape."

*Ehōkan* in 127. is *óhāgen*; but perhaps they differ in tense.

*Asfeken*, I conjecture, should be *asfeghen*, they empty; from *fagh*. See 174.

*Ígfal* may seem to be the same word as *íkfel*, he ransacked. 130.

127. *Tihatēn* seems to be the same word as *tighaten*, goats, from *taghat*, she-goat, in Kab. Barth also has *tarat* (= *taghat*), she-goat; yet he is sure that *tihatēn* means (hairy) sheep; and that *ulli* (which in Kab. is a flock of sheep or goats) is the Temght plural for goats. In 137. *ulli* is sheep (?). [There is no doubt that *ulli* comprises occasionally both sheep and goats.—B.]

128. *Akimu* is from *ikim*, it rested or remained (41.); also, it remained over. *Har*, except.

*Immerau*, reciprocal verb, from *iru*, he sobbed; *immerauen*, they sobbed mutually. *Agčzar*, war. *Usāsān* (perhaps), "they made obstinate;" Ar. *úsa*; which might generate a causative verb, *isasa*. But for the Arabic root, we have in Kab. *azzay*, heavy. See *azien* in 150.

129. *They vanquished them only by numbers*, éntenet war tanár-nen har s egöd.

*Died, who died*, amüt, awa amüt.

*Was wounded, who was wounded*, égeshēn búyisen, awa bū-yis.

*Was speared, who was speared*, égeshēn tidik, awa gíshen.

*Was smitten, who was smitten*, égeshēn tiwit awa gíshen.

*The whole tribe was extirpated*, tausit ikétēnes témminde. (91.)

*Except a few lads who were absent*, asel harret ilíaden, war hadarín.

*There was not one who was not wounded*, war tille dakhšen črē war nebūyis.

130. *Men were broken and crushed*, idinet arzan e dígdēgen.

*They ransacked their villages*, atíkfūlan emazāghe nissen.

*They took it and went away with it*, eluent, éngēlen dēris.

*The enemy despaired*, íshíngē aráhūgēn.

*I despair*, nek eheráhūragh.

*The whole town burns*, aghērim ikétēnes irrar. (170.)

*They fled into the forest*, imár rasan ígesben ehíshkan. [*They were broken, and entered the bushes.*]

*I flee*, nek arzēgli. [*I am broken?*]

*They make a stand*, ibdēdan. (41.)

131. *They gather*, isártāyen har emókūsan. [*They caused to join, until they assembled mutually.*]

*Their chief addressed them*, emegeredassen amanōkal nissen. (29.)

132. *He exhorted them to defend their women*, innūsen hawānim au-

129. *War tan-arnen*. The negative *war* attracts the pron. accus. *tan* (them). *Arnen*, they overcame, as in Kab.

*Egöd*, multitude, as in Shilha *yeggūt*, it was numerous.

*Egíshen* seems to come from *egish*, enter or pierce. (So *egishāhi* *terjudauten*, cup me behind the ear, i. e. pierce to me the back-head.) *Idak*, he pierced with a spear, Heb. *dakar*; Ar. *dakhḡ* *wat*, ihe struck, smote. Hence *tidik* and *tiwit*, feminine nouns.

*Erē* . . . qu. *war-erē*, ne-pas? So Kab.

130. *Irza*, he broke; also, he was broken; but for the passive we seem presently to

find *imarraz*; in Kabáíl *imrez* and *irrez*. *Idiydeg* or *idiggid*, he crushed; frequentative. Compare Heb. *dakhḡ*, Ar. *dakhḡ*, to pound, &c.

*Itikfel*, present tense from *Ikfel*? See *Iqfal*, in 126.

*Amazāghe*. Compare *Timshagh*, in 128. *Yelu*, he took? (not again.)

*Ingel*, Niph. from *igēle*? (not again). But *inghel*, it gushed out; qu. *enghēlen*, eruperant?

*Irahagh*, he despaired. *Ehe* initial, marking present, is at of Kabáíl.

131. *Irtay* (neuter verb), it joined; *isertay* (active), he joined; *imirtayen* (things), mixed.

ādagħ akawen igerāwen tīdē-  
dēn ennawen. [*He said to  
them . . . that (?) to you they  
set free your women.*]

*And your children, ezafnet d  
fliaden nawen.*

133. *That you may not get a bad  
name amongst men(?)* āmeħak  
wāsāsen tēsēlim dar mēden.

*Up! and let us fight till we pene-  
trate to their tents, awar ha-  
wenjen har tasne eħanne  
nassen.*

134. *Till we fight them at their very  
tents, har dīrsen tīrteyam dar  
eħenne nessen.*

*Till you drive out their women,  
tesīffem tīdedēn nissen.*

*Take as hostages their children,  
termissen arrāsāsen alroren  
nissen.*

*Their children are your prey,  
ilīaden nissen ewunawen.*

135. *They raise the war-cry, esarau-  
rawen.*

132. *Izaf, naked; izafnet, they (fem.)  
are naked?*

*Igerawen, they deliver, set free? rather,  
egherawen, "laxant." See 63.*

133. *Amehak (ameghugh, anquisivi, 31.).  
Wāsāsen. See usāsūn, 128; also tewīsīt,  
tribute.*

*Tesīlim, audistis.*

*Iħannen, tents.*

134. *Tīrteyam, jungamini. See 131.*

*Tesīffem, exire faciatis? See ifay, exiit,  
141.*

*Termissem, prehendatis. Irmes, pre-  
hendit, as in Ghadāmsi.*

135. *Nek esraurawegħ, I break through,*

*They beat their shields, etedēr-  
zen ēreħe [āghēre] nissen.*

136. *They form a line, ēgen āfōd.  
They make an assault, ōshēlen  
insīrsen.*

*They have surrounded them,  
raleēnten, kūbēn falāsēn.*

*They break through them, ibe-  
laggēnten, azraurawēnten.*

137. *They have dispersed, ābbēden.  
These were broken and those  
were broken, arzen wuīn, ar-  
zen wuīn.*

*They fled like hares, egēwuaden  
shynd egewat ātek temar-  
ruēlt [*instar fugæ (quam)  
præterit? lepus*].*

*Like the sheep or goats before*

should be *esraurau-egħ, 190. 136. 'Isarau-  
rau, he shouted, may be frequentative  
causative from ru, to sob, Kab. (128.)*

*Iderez, he rattled?*

136. *Āfōd, the knee! Egen, see 39.*

*Ōshēlen, they hurried, 55.*

*Insīrsen, they made a descent? Kab.  
ires, he went down; sirs, bring down.*

*Raleyen, from iralay, he surrounded:  
whence terluite, around.*

*Kūbē, form a circle? Compare kūbba  
(Heb. and Arab.), a (vaulted) sleeping  
chamber, an arch.*

*Ful-assen, against them.*

*Ibelag, pervasit? (Ar. belagħ, pervenit).  
Azraurau, freq. to split (190.), from irza  
(130.).*

137. *Abbeden, read abbeten, or abbeden.  
Kab. ibtu, divisit.*

*Shynd, in Kab. and Shilha, zund, zun,  
instar.*

*Egewuad, egewat, see 52.*

*Temarruelt, a hare, from imerewel, run*



*the wolf, shynd ulli ishūk ' ebak [instar gregis (quam) invadit lupus].*

138. *They are both afraid, éntēnet aneméttesen ingarmanissen.*

*Let the proud champions fight, ayet inasbarāghen ademúnghan.*

*(Let) the champions step forth, síggemet étid inasbarāghen.*

*(One) champion the son of Naber (Nabegha), anesbarāgh ineg en Nabegh.*

*And (the other) champion the son of Agwi, d anesbarāgh ineg el Agwi.*

139. *Their countenances are as the countenances of lions, idemawen nissen shynd idemawen éheran.*

away (Hodgson's Kab.), which is from *irwel*, he fled; Arabic, *rahel*.

*Ebak* or *ebēg*, a jackal.

*Ishūk*, invadit? Afterwards (220.) *ishēk*, "the lion attacks." Compare *shik*, quick; Kab. *zik*.

138. *Imettes*, he frightened? (Not again.)

*Ingarmanissen*, inter se? In Kab., *gar*, between; also *gaigar*; and *gaigarasan*, inter se.

*Ayet*, let ye, 95.

*Abārāgh*, proud; *tebarōghit*, opulence; *anesbārōgh*, man of wealth and grandeur. In Venture, *ūbtlāgh*, bien, richesse.

*Ademánghan*, subjunctive. *Ingha*, he killed; *imangha*, he killed mutually, i. e. he fought.

*Síggemet*, exire facite. *Igem*, exiit, 118.

*Étid*, hither? [*Étid*, (the cold) in creascs.]

*Ineg* or *ineh*, son; — only in Temght?

*Who are about to spring on their prey, ainemeharnānīn abōkan ademókāsen.*

*They fight hand to hand, amáw-āten.*

*The son of Agwi has cut him through the left shoulder, ineg el Agwi istak sers gerē dézar wa-n-téshilgēn.*

140. *He parried that blow, úhag arasset.*

*(They encounter;) their swords are broken, tamókāsen, tika-bawen érzēmot.*

*They throw the spears, anemig-güren s alāghen.*

139. *Udem*, cheek, in Venture; face, in Kab. generally; pl. *udemīn*. It is also *akādūm* in Kab., which suggests Heb. and Arab. *kedem*, front, as akin. See 81.

*Eher*, lion, is *afur* in Ghad.

*Iharna* seems to mean "he crouched," see 22; although Barth has it otherwise in 222: *meharnan*, particip.

*Aina*, article or relative plural?

*Ademókāsen*, occurrent (to encounter). *Ad* marks subjunctive, as in *ademanghan*, 138.

*Iwat*, he struck: *imawat*, he struck reciprocally.

*Istak*, has gashed? has inflicted? Arab. 8th form of *sūk*, impulit?

*Sers*, on him? So in Kab.—Delaporte, &c.

*Gerē*, between? Kab. *gar* (or, a wound? Arab. *jurhk*).

*Dézar*, collar bone? or, *ezar*? vein.

*Wa-n-téshilgēn*, which (is) of the left.

140. *Uhag*, he caught, 126.

*Arasset*? before (him)? See 238.

*Tákōba*, sword, as in Hausa.

*Erzemet* = *Erzenet*, 3rd fem. pl.

*I throw the spear, nek egāragh alāghe.*

*One and the other throw it, igart wuay, igart wuay.*

*This pierced him and that pierced him, idakt wuay, idakt wuay.*

141. *Both of them are wounded, asen enissen ansabayāsen.*

*The blood gushes from their wounds like a torrent, ingay āshēni dar būyāsen nissen ifay shynd enji [it comes out like, &c.].*

142. *(They) lead them from the place, itkellēnten dihen anemanghan [they cause-them-to quit where they have fought mutually].*

*They bind up their wounds, etellēnten ibūyāsen nissen.*

*They put to them remedies, egenassen iaḥfrā.*

*They die, amūten.*

143. *They drive them back, yékēnten, isokalēnten.*

*They have extirpated [crushed?] their tribe, irzan terērt nissen.*

*I lay ambush, nek estēdaf.*

*They have razed the whole town to the ground, irzan āghērim ikētēnes har amós shynd ākal.*

144. *I draw my sword from the scabbard, erkūbagh takobāni daggar titar.*

*I throw down the scabbard, asīndaragh titar.*

*I replace the sword in its case, esókālagh tākōba daggar titar ennis.*

*I draw the arrow (at him?), erkūbāgh-as essim.*

*I let fly the arrow, egeragh s essim (I throw with the arrow).*

*Iger, he threw; igār, he throws, incmiger, he throws reciprocally; neuter verb: hence s, with the spear.*

141. *Asen enissen, two of them.*

*Ingay, gushes, engi or enji, a torrent, must be akin. In Kab. inghel, it gushed; see 174.*

*Ifay, it comes out, replaces the Kab. ifagh (see 174.): hence, tufay, (the suu) comes out; tufū, diarrhoea; ofayen, effunduntur (grandines).*

142. *Ikelli, he caused to quit? see 124. The form reminds one of Arabic.*

*Ittal, he swathed, wrapped, folded, wound up (so Kab.). Compare Arab. fetel: whence iftel, ittel?*

143. *Yéken, they pass? (cause to pass).*

*Isokal, see 25.*

*Terērt, tribe: also, a cup! (Is a tribe Teright = Turiket?)*

*Estēdaf, Arab. 8th form? Esdef, obscure fuit nox, Golius.*

*Aghērim, town. Ikētēnes, all of it. — [Some of it, — or, much of it, one might have judged. But Barth is positive and consistent.]*

*Har amós, until it becomes?*

144. *Irkeb, evulsit, is native (180.): see 125. for the very different Arabic.*

*Daggar, dag; read dagh.*

*Isindar, he threw down? Yet indar, he refused (112.), and ennādir, often. Rather*

*I replace the arrow in the quiver, esókälagh essim dag tatánghot.*

145. *I load the gun, tasúksagh el barüde.*

*Is the gun loaded or not? el barüde asíksek? mer war asíksek?*

*The left barrel is loaded, éman teshílge tezéksak.*

*The right barrel is not loaded, éman arél war ezéksak; or, war teha harret [there is not anything]; or, war ekémäret.*

146. *Give me a little powder for the eye of the gun, ikfáhe égil giak, dag tét-n-el barüd.*

*I fire the gun, sínkäragh el barüd.*

*I hit, wātagh.*

*He has hit him (?) just under*

*the left eye, wātagh s el barüd dag tagūmast-n-tét tan té-shilgēn.*

147. *The ball did not enter him, (but) passed over his head, war tiggisht tesawc, toke eraf [eghaf] enis; ukaine tezúwaten gínnige eraf enis.*

*He has not aimed well, war asíkēne és innémehel; war es-námehel; war ésín esinnémehel. (See 172. 195.)*

*He does not know how to aim, war esín asikken.*

148. *His arm trembled, afūs enis ishikátkat. (His hand.)*

*The ball has swerved, tisúwaten akúrret.*

149. *I trade, asittēgagh.*

*I am not a merchant, war estéj-jagh.*

*asindaragh* is for *asintarakgh*, from root *itarak*, he fell (71.); or for *asintarugh*, from *itar*, he went down, which is *Temght* as well as *Kabáíl*.

145. *Tasaksagh* for *tasaksakgh*.

*Zéksak*, careless for *seksak*? root *saksak*, cram, press. Comp. Greek, *σας*.

*Teshílge*, differently accented in 139. 146.

*Arél*, the right. (These two words differ from the Kab.) *Aril-n-eshe* is the noon of day, i. e. the upright?

*Ekémäret* is filled? It seems to me an Arabic feminine form, corrupt for *amaret*, which Delaporte uses.

146. *E'gil*, powder (in the vocabulary).

*Giak*, a little?

*Sínkar*, cause to rise? (cock the gun?) *Inkar*, he arose; 41.

*Tagūmast*, a tooth? [So, it seems, in Barth's vocab.] *Tughmas* in Kab. Qu. He hit me in the left eye-tooth?

*Tan*, fem. demonst. = *tinni* of Kab. Elsewhere, *tēn* and *tindagh*, illa.

147. *Toke*, 52; *ukaine*, 66.

*Eraf* = *eghaf* (or *ikhf*), head.

*Gínnige*, above, from Kab. *ennig*, amplus, with Kab. prep. *g*, in. In Kab. also *sennig*, aloft. In Shilha, *igi*.

*Istkkēne*, he points, aims.

*Mehel*? wait, expect, Kab. Elsewhere *animmehel*, operate pretium.

148. *Ishikátkat*, trembled; but *shekántat*, shiver.

*Tisawaten*, plural? *Akurret* = *akurrent*, also plur.? Compare *akérären*, round.

149. *Isittēg* and *istejja* must be variations of one verb. They remind us of Arabic

# TEMA'SHIGHT VOCABULARY—VERBS.

*I exchange, éstëgagh; mesáctegh.*

*I barter, simískulagh.*

150. *I buy, nāzagh.*

*Thou hast bought dear, tāzet azúen.*

— *cheap, indeed! tāzet erakēsen, beshōr!*

*I provide myself with (store up) millet (corn), esātagh énéli (alun).*

*All the Arabs of A'zawād buy their guinea-corn in Timbúktu, Arāben - n - Azawagh iketenessen ikūten énéli dak Timbýtku.*

151. *I sell, eshinshëgh (= ezinzëgh).*

*Sell me your horse, shinshāli ais innak.*

*I do not sell my horse, war shinshëgh ais in [= ais eni].*

*I wish to sell something, irhëgh adëshinsh [adëshinshagh] harret.*

152. *I borrow [roṭolegh?].*

*tājir, merchant. Meséttegh, unless particip., is a reciprocal verb.*

*Simiskal, complicated form, from ikhal (ikhāl), he turned?*

150 *Ināz he buys; inz, he bought?*

*Tāzet, for tanzet? This shows the root of izinz, he sold, in Kab.*

*Erahēs is Arab. rakhīs, cheap. Elsewhere Barth has ibkhas, cheap.*

*Iat, he stores up?*

*Azēen, dear; also hard (meat). Kab. azza, to be heavy.*

*Ikāt, he measures? 193.*

*Lend me, sirdelāhi.*

*I lend you, esirdelaghak.*

*I have from you money on loan, nek ehánātay esirdalínnek.*

*You have from me —, ke ehán-kay esirdál eni.*

*He has from him —, enta ehant esirdal enis.*

153. *His debt is large, amárwas enis ëgën.*

*I have a trade debt with you (I am in debt to you), nek ehán- nātay amárwas innék.*

*Return me what I have lent you, sokelāhi awāhak ismarwāsagh. [Redde mihi quod tibi commodavi.]*

154. *I begin, sheshwāragh.*

— *asíntagh.*

*I have begun copying the book, asíntagh asūkál el kitáb.*

*He begins an harangue, ísint méggered.*

152. *Ruṭel, in Arab. to weigh, is in Kab. lend or borrow.*

*Ehanat-ayi, sunt mihi? (fem. pl.?)*

*Ehan-kay, sunt tibi (masc. pl.?)*

*Isirdulen, may be pl. "loans."*

153. *Amarwas, a debt, is also Kab., for I find it in Luke, vii. 41., though not in Brosselard. Ismarwas, he lent (a thing).*

154. *Ishashwar, frequentative; from Kab. izwar. So ishwar, 85.*

*Isint, he begins (not Kab.), strangely like in sound to isinda, he ended. Since the latter is causative (from imda, imēda), isint may denote a root inz, ceptum est. Compare indi, not yet; end (in composition), next; in Kab. neṭ or neṭ, alter. In Ben Músa's Temght, nedín, next to me.*

155. *I finish, end, simdegh.*

*He has finished reading the Kurán, isimde (or yirtem) el Kurán.*

*(And) celebrates the day, ashel egel elyulimat. (Arab. wali-mat, epulum.)*

*My salutes to you for having finished the reading of the Kurán, ulimētun ujībētun.*

*It is finished, yimmēder [yimē-da].*

156. *Repeat, ólis údak [adagh] sōril.*

*Repeat this verse, ólis aghas (or smális aghas) téghārēn.*

*Until you know it by heart, har tilmēdak [tilmēdat].*

157. *I fasten, ékanagh.*

*Are the camels picketed, or not? immēnās ikerāfen, mer war ikerāfen? (43.)*

155. *Imda*, see 91.

*Yirtem*, he completed? (Arab. confre-git.)

*Egel* = *aril*, noon? (*Aghel* may be the true spelling.)

156. *Oril* = *Ar. akl*, intellect? So we have *arēl*, he thinks (223.), for *uqal. Adak* = *adagh*, this.

*Ólis* means "repeat thou." So in *Prod. Son*, *nolis*, we have repeated; *tulis*, adverbially) again.

*Smális* and *aghas* need fuller explanation.

157. *Igan*, Kab., he tied, fastened.

*Agiagh* is pres. or fut. of *iga*, 39.

*Irra* means "to shut" in Kab., but "to loosen and open" in Temght. Two verbs seem to be confused, namely, Ghad. *efer*, shut thou, Temght, *ehér*, which represents

*Shall I tie the horse or loosen (him)? agiagh aís, mer aregh?*  
[Shall I do the horse, or un-do him?]

*Let him eat that fine herbage, áyit adíkahe téshe tindegh tahōsket.*

*Set (ye) the horses free, símba-rit iyēsan.*

*I set free, asímbaragh.*

158. *Shut the door, sókel tefálwat.*

*Open the door, arid tefálwat.*

*I open the door, aregh tefál-wat.*

*I cover, ushikúmbashagh.*

159. *Lock ye up, agfēltet.*

*I lock up, agfēltagh.*

*I knock at the door, edágakagh tefálwat.*

160. *I put on [change?] my shirt, insákalah rishabūni.*

Kab. *err*, related perhaps to Shilha *iwerri*, he returned (*w* is the *r* of Ghádamsi?), Kab. *irra*, he brought back, came back: but Ghad. *er*, loosen thou, which is Temght *ar* or *ur*; connected perhaps with *eheru*, *egheru*, loose. See 63.

*Teshe* = Kab. *teje*, grass, &c.

*Isimbara*, he set free. See 54.

158. *Tefálwat* = *tafurt* of Ghad. = *ta-wurt* of Kab.

*Sókel*, i.e. turn the door; as in Kab. *err* turn, for shut. It is strangely like Arab. *sekker* el bāb.

159. *Agfēl* seems to be a corruption of Arabic *ḥuṣṭ*, a lock. The final *t* is anomalous.

*Dakak* is Hebrew and Arab. *daḥak*.

160. *Ireled*, he girded. *Aralād*, a circuit fence (a girding). In Kab. *aghalād*,

*I reverse my shirt, abiregwalegh rishabāni.*

*I gird my loins, ehereldegh bessa; egobessagh.*

161. *I put on fine clothes, elāsagh temáskātēn ihōskātēn.*

*The Tawārek everywhere, in their encampments (tentoria sua) put on their worst clothing, Imōshagh kodihén ehúnan nissen sassáharen úshel-róhēra annēsen.*

*I assume all my weapons, isdawagh tazólinin ikétenes.*

162. *I sling on my sword, shéllāgagh takobāni.*

a city wall. A simpler root is *iralay*; see 136.

*Ehe-* and *ege-* mark present tense, as at of Kab. In fact we have *ahi* in 166.

*Bessa*, waist? Kab. *ames*, middle. See *amos*, 143.

161. *Elis* clothing (of gun); *isilse*, man's dress; *ilās*, he dressed himself, put on; *temalsat*, garment. This root is also Kab., where it is apt to be confused with other roots,—*illes*, he touched; *illes*, he sheared sheep; which I have not found in Barth. 'A fleece' combines the ideas of shearing and clothing.

*Ihōskātēn* is fem. pl. from *ihōshen* (a participial form), handsome.

*Idau*, he collected, from *idau*, it was collected: whence *tidawen*, they congregated; *amidi*, a friend. In Kab. this root is replaced by *idukkel*, whence also *amdukkel*, a friend; *isdukkel*, he collected.

*Tazóli*, iron, weapon; from Kab. *wezzāl*, iron. Root, *gzl*, to cut, &c.

162. *Ishelag*, he put over the left shoulder? *Teshilge*, the left.

*I (we?) lay down arms, nekes tazólinin. (98.)*

*I undress, nekes rishabāni. (We take off my shirt?)*

163. *I wash, sáradagh.*

*Washed (not new), arid.*

*[It is washed, ired.]*

*I wash my face, rádebagh ídemín.*

*I wash my hands, rássemagh ifassin.*

*I wring out the water from my shirt, zymmogh rishabāni.*

164. *I dry my shirt, básāragh rishabāni.*

*My shirt is not yet dried, rishabāni indi tibsārit.*

*I hang in the air, nekes orēkagh ígetan har tejmat innikkāl, or abelānbak [I hang (it) flying, until the moisture comes out?].*

165. *I cover, ushikāmbashagh. (See 158.)*

*Shave my head, sarsāhi eraf in [eghaf ini].*

163. *Ired, sired*, are also Kab.

*Irādeb*, he bathes with the hand?

*Irāsem*, he besprinkles? pours upon?

Kab. has *iresshu* for this; but so Barth, *reshresh*, rain-drops.

164. *Ibsar*, he dried, or was dry?

*Tibsarit* seems to have Arab fem. termination? (*iki* in Kab.)

*Nek esoregagh?* I hang up?

*Ígetan*, poles? *ígeṭan*, flying.

*Tejmat* = *tegmāt*, with Arab fem. termination. See *igem*, 138. 118.

*Innikkāl, abelānbak*, moisture?

165. *Sars*, shave thou; *ars*, be thou shaved?

*I shave (myself?), erarsegh.*

*I clean, tekárkäragh.*

*Clean this, aferit den, amís.*

*I look into the glass, sággeghagh awánin der tísit.*

166. *I mend, nekánagh (nek ganagh? 157.).*

*I will go to the blacksmith, irhēgh tikaut-n-ūnhad (rolo profectionem fabri?)*

*That he may mend what is spoiled in my gun, ahíyeken away íkshsheden dagh el barūdín.*

167. *I cook, boil, esangnegh.*

*Well boiled, ripe, yignān.*

*Not sufficiently done, ur ignān.*

*Boil water for me, íksahe úman.*

*I broil, nek ekánafagh.*

*Roasted meat, ísan nékūnaf.*

168. *Make a fire, awet éfeü.*

*I make a fire, awetagh éfeü.*

*I kindle the fire, sūhedagh éfeü, akenásseragh éfeü.*

*Íkárkar, be elcansed?*

166. *Ēnhud, compare Arabic hhadid iron.*

*Away íkshsheden, τὸ φθᾶπτεν, article and participle. Íkshshed, it is spoiled, nemakshshad, wasteful, in "Prodigal Son."*

167. *Ingne, it is cooked, fem. tingne, partic. ignān. Perhaps the true spelling then is igne, and causative isagne. In Sidi Ibrahim (Shilha) I find isenu, he cooked.*

*Iks, boil thou. Compare ekōs, hot; akūs, a dish. Also 98.*

*Iknef is also Kab.*

*Ísan = aisūm = aksum, meat.*

168. *Awet, make, build, arrange. In Shilha, yegat, he placed.*

*Kindle the fire, sūhad éfeü.*

169. *That it may not go out, war etémmeakatit.*

*I put out the fire, nek ismákket éfeü.*

*The fire is going out, éfeü tismáket; éfeü war íkenás-máket; ákkenes asísmáken éfeü.*

*The fire has gone out. éfeü temmūt.*

*The fire revives, éfeü helígle.*

170. *Light the candle for me, sokāhi téfetelt.*

*I light the candle, sekūgh téfetelt.*

*I burn, nek nesérragh.*

*You have burnt your shirt, ke tesserret rishāb innék.*

*Sōhad, stir thou?*

*Akenissuragh* is a compound verb, from *ken, make, and iseragh, he burnt, which is shortened to iserr in Barth. See 170.*

169. *Imekat, it is extinguished?*

*Ismakket, he extinguishes?*

*Ikenasmáket, compounded with ken, make.*

*Asísmáken has no final radical t.*

*Helígle = ahilígle, present tense, from ílíghe, it revived?*

170. *Esōkegh, I send, in 101. Yet here sok, light thou, and sekūgh.*

*Iserru, or iserragh, is causative, from irrar or iragh, it was burnt; Kab. iragh, íhhragh, identical with Arab. hharak.*

*Neserragh, nirzagh, with n superfluous, is an anomaly not rare in Barth, apparently from the perplexity introduced from Arabic, where n initial vacillates in sense between 1st pers. sing. and 1st pers. plural.*

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171. *I break, destroy*, nek nirzagh,  
nek ediggidagh.

*Broken*, irzar [irza?].

172. *I throw*, nek asánahel.

*I threw it on the ground, and  
crushed it with my foot*, satá-  
rakegh dar akal adarábāragh.

173. *I cut*, nek nékkētas.

*Mince the meat for me*, ake-  
lisāhi ísan.

*I cut a pen*, ekárādagh.

— tekárkārāgh (but 165.).

*I slit a pen*, shoféfarāgh ĕm  
arānibin; suttékērāgh [*I  
scrape?*]

*Catch thou (what is thrown)*,  
ekbel.

*I catch*, ekbēlagh. [Ar. *Receive*,  
as in 78.]

174. *I fill with water*, atkārāgh s'  
áman.

*You have filled this cup*, tēt-  
kūrat terērt.

*Till it runs over*, har titfak.

*I pour it out*, nek esáttēfit.

*I empty*, esingālagh [esingh-].

175. *I upset it*, subumbēūgh-at. (44.)

*I scoop water*, elkawagh áman.

*I draw*, nek tesheresherawen  
aran. (63.)

*I water the garden*, sáswagh  
eshíkkārash; sángralagh á-  
man der eshíkkārash. (186.)

*I give to drink*, esiswēgh.

*Give the horse to drink*, sissu  
aís se beléas.

176. *I go to fetch water*, eshárrā-  
gagh áman.

*The water-carriers*, imshárrō-  
gen.

*Let us pitch the tent*, nektar. (?)

*I pitch the tent*, nek takanegh  
ehan. [*I fasten or fix?* 157.]

*I drive in the pegs*, tetaítāyagh.

177. *I draw the ends of the leather  
covering of the tent*, tareré-  
ūgh tísēdas.

171. *Idiggid*, he smashed! See *Dagak*  
in 159.

172. *Asanahel* and *esnámehel* of 147.,  
have something in common.

*Isaturak*, see 71.

*Erüber*, (the horse) kicks, 216.

*Irbar*, (the river horse) *upset* (the boat),  
—qu stamped on? crushed? Then *ad*  
marks subjunctive, and *adarábāragh*=(ut)  
confringam.

173. *Ekkētas*, cut (189.); *ikarad*, he cut  
(a pen?). Heb. *karat*.

*Em*, the mouth (nīb?).

174. *Itkar*=Kab. *ichchur*.

*Titfak*=*titfagh*? Yet for *iffagh* (it came

out, Kab.) we had *ifay*, 141. Also *efūket*,  
fem. *tefūket*, present tense (207.), it comes  
forth. Below, *tiffar*, (the boat) leaks;  
where *r* shows *gh* to be the true spelling, as  
in Kab. See *Asfēken*, 126.

*Esáttēfit*, see 209.

*Isingal*, read *isinghal*, causative, from  
*inghel*, it gushed. *Sangralagh* should be  
*sanghalagh*.

175. *Elkau* (Kab. *elḡay*, deep; hence  
*telak*, deep channel; *telhayat*, (the boat)  
founders. But this root is probably dif-  
ferent.

176. *Isharrag*, see 63.

*Itaitay*, he drove in pegs; he pricked  
(as a scorpion).



*I draw the ropes of the tent, tarerēās erēwiyen éhen (he tightens to it?).*

*I spread the carpet in the tent, nek fātagh der éhen: úwetagh tisíftak.*

178. *I hang up the dishes, nek sélik íkesan.*

— *the waterskin, the saddle, edid, elakíf.*

*I take down the tent, bassēagh éhen.*

*Take down your tents, ébsiet ehennanawen.*

*These slaves work hard, íkēlan ílagh arelēnan egēn [aghe-lēnan].*

*Work (subst.), árālay [ághūlay].*

179. *I dress (?) a goat, agerassūrāgh tāghat.*

177. *Oreā* (root?), tighten; *oreās*, strangle him; *oreāghas*, I strangle him; *tarereūgh*, (frequent) I tighten.

*Ista*, he spread; corrupt Arabic, from *fatahh*. In *tisíftak* the lost *ح* reappears as final *k*. *Ister*, mat, for *istāhh*, and *tesuf-takht*, carpet, in 226, 227.

*Úwetagh*, I arrange; see 168.

172. *Sélik*, for *selīgh*? *Sídi Ibrahim* (in *Shilha*) uses Arabic *állīk* for "hang up:" hence, perhaps, *selīk* as a causative.

*Ebst*, *ebsih*, take down? Another verb is *besay*, vomit.

*Arālay*, work; *arelēnan*, they work. *Nek árālūn*, I sow (a field), seems to be *aghalun*; root, *aghalay*. But *íralay*, he surrounded, 136.

179. *Igharsa*, he cut the throat (*Shilha*); *agharās*, or *emgharās*, a butcher, *Ghad*.

*I draw back his neck, semēl-wagh-as.*

*I cut his throat, agerāsagh-as.*

*I skin him, óshegh-at.*

180. *I shear a fleece, nek téliak tél-sak.*

*I pluck the bird, rákabagh tisá-gädēn. [I tear off the feathers.] (144.)*

*He wrested it from me, írkáb deri.*

*I peel the fruit, tekedímmegh.*

*I pasture the camels, dānagh immēnās.*

181. *I milk the cow, azikagh tēs.*

*Milk thou, azík.*

*Has (this) cow been milked, or not? tēs tezak, merwar tezak?*

*I shake the milk (for making it sour), autíshagh netíshunit eshāhi akh.*

But Venture gives *aghzār* for butcher, which points out a relation to Arab. *jezzār*. Observe that *agharās* is "a road" in De-laporte's *Kab.* and *Ibrahim's Shilha*. [I suspect that *agerāsagh-ak*, I butcher for thee.]

*Semelluagh* would seem related to *eme-lāgh*, I castrate (120.), if the sense agreed better.

*Oshe*, skin thou, is for *oze*; in *Kab.* *uz* or *azu*.

180. *Teliagh*, I cut (corn, rice); *alíhet*, cut ye, yield; *alíhe*, cut, shear?

*Teságüden*, from *iged*, he flew; *agadid*, bird. In *Kab.* *íghetāf*, birds.

*Ihedim*, he picked?

*Idan*, pascit or pastus est; hence, *amā-dān*, a shepherd; *Kab.* *amaksa*.

181. *Azík* is *zey* or *zeyh* in *Kab.*

182. *I make ropes*, nek attálemagh.  
*Hold me the rope*, sennikfáhi.  
*The Tawárek are very clever in making good ropes of leather*, Imóshagh adíbábendarérönan.  
*Those ropes—from (the bark of) what tree do they make them?* eréwiyen wádagh in-nagh éhishkan wuí téllénin (or, wuí dígmáden).  
*I weave woollen blankets*, zútagh tibbergentin.  
*Which understand weaving better—the Fullán or the Songhay?* endekway ísan [endegh way isan] tézi tehösken, jer Afülan ped (?) E'hatan? or, emállëten wuín E'hatan du wuín Fülán megeressen yúfa tézetí?  
*All of them know good weaving* esanántet iketenéssen tézit tehösken.

182. *Yellim*, he spun, Vent.; Ar. lemm, glomernavit. Presently, for tellénin read tellémin, they twine?

*Sennikf*; root *nikf*? or *ikfa*?

*Aran*, leather-rope: pl. *erönan* (vocab.).

*Erewi*, a (hempen) rope; so Kab.

*Izat*, he weaves; *tezit*, weaving. In Kab. *zef*, weave thou.

*Way-isan*, who knew.

*Emállëten*, the cloths? the garments? the tissues?

*Wui-n-Ehatan*, &c.

*Du*, and?

*Me-ger-assen*, which betwixt them; i. e. which of the two?

*Yufa*, surpasses, excels.

*Esanántet* must be fem. pl. from *isan*, he knew.

183. *The women pluck the cotton*, tídëdën ítafash fásënit, or, ítafash tíkurukarën.

184. *I spin thread*, tarérayagh.

*The women spin thread*, tídëdën rerémat.

*I weave cotton strips*, ezátagh tabádokën.

*I sew*, azamāyagh.

*I cut out (a shirt)*, arāwagh.

*I fold (a shirt)*, tédëhagh.

*I roll up*, ekemíngkémégh.

185. *I beat (a shirt)*, titëbögh.

*I beat it well, until it becomes bright*, tádëshagh, hartékkëne siggeniügish.

*I dye*, sádalagh.

*Dyeing*, tesadälit. [Yet, tesä-dalt, an egg.]

*I mend my shirt*, tágagh tíkist dar rishabáni.

183. *Itafashfas*, he plucked (cotton).

*Tíkurukarën*, cottons; sing. *takeróherit*, from -enit, 3rd pl. fem.

*Ikarkar*, he cleansed? See 164.

184. *Ireray*, he spun. *Rerémat* = *Rerainat*, fem. 3rd pl., as elsewhere.

*Izamāy*, he sews. In Barth's vocabulary, *ázamay*; in Venture, *tismi* [tizmi?], a needle.

*Irau*, he cuts out. Ghad. *íra*, he shaved.

*Idch*, he folded? But *idā*, he pounds,

188.

*Ikemin(g)hem*, he rolled up, must be frequentative, from *ikemin*?

185. *Itëbu*, he beat?

*Idesh*, he hammered.

*Siggeniügish*, from *siggëni*, indigo; *ügish*, entrance? or from *sig*, aspect?

*Tíkist*, a rent? (In Kab. a prick, sting.)

Or, rather, it means a *pateh*.

186. *I work the ground, shekúra-shagh.*

*I make a fence to the field, egútagh áralād yeshikkérishín.*

*I saw, nek 'aralūn [= aghalun.] (178.) [Nekegēgh alūn? H.B.]*

*I root up weed, tikōmagh téshe.*

187. *I plant a bush, adōmegh ehíshk.*

*I dig in a pole, esúktagh ájid.*

*I cut rice, téliagh táfakat. (180.)*

*Cut (ye) for me this, and put it for me in the boat, alihetāhi tetid, tegimāhi tetid der tōraft.*

188. *I gather fruit, isirtāyagh (131.) árāten ehishkan.*

*I pound, edāhagh.*

*I pound rice, tifúkkogh táfakat.*

186. *Ishekarash*, he tilled, *shekarash*, garden or field, are frequentative, from root *karash*; in Kab. *karaz*, to till, work the ground. It answers to حَرَشَ, *ḥaṣaraw*.

*Yegāt*, he placed (found in Shilha, Tale of Saby). Also, he made (a hedge, a pot). *Tugāt*, she laid (eggs).

*Nek magēt*, I what do?

*War ged ādi*, do not this.

*Aghalūn*, participle? [*Alūn*, corn?]

*Ihom*, he rooted up?

187. *Idom*, he plants. (Ar. *dām*?)

*Tegimāhi* (39.), from *iga*. Two imperatives joined by *and* are expressed as if we said *secate posuistis* for *secate et ponite*.

188. *Arāten* (*arata*, a crocodile), read *arāten-n-ehishkan*; or even *arāden*? In Kab. *irden*, (*fruges*), wheat.

*Ehishk*, a tree, is in De Slane's Temght *ishék*. I think it is the Kab. *ishik*, a branch; branch for bush.

*Idah*, he pounds? Arah. *dakk*.

*I winnow, kintihēgh or tesabiritit rēgh-at.*

189. *I tie up the bundles of Guinea-corn, akitteléagh ashíkkera-shín-n-enēli [the fields of corn?].*

*I knead it, nek osáksük-at. (145.)*

*It is not well kneaded, war tik-kēne isūs.*

190. *I hid, efūragh (abdidi, so Kab.); etwāragh (condidi? see 102.).*

*I cut wood, ektāsagh ígčtan. (173.)*

*I split, esraurawēgh [ezr-, 136.].*

*I grind the knife on the stone, emsādagh absar is tahūnt.*

*I whet my knife, sātūragh ábsarin.*

*Whet for me, esterāhi.*

191. *I hammer, tādeshagh. (185.)*

*I saw, tezezawagh.*

*I chip, square planks, nek átēki.*

*I dig a well, rāshagh ānu [gháshagh].*

*I build a well, nek ázāraf ānu.*

— a house, áwetagh tārashām.

· a boat, áwetagh tōraft.

*Inkinteh, isabir*, he winnowed?

189. *Ihittelih*, "he sheaved?"

190. *I'gčtan*, sticks, poles.

*Imšād*, he grinds: also, sharp. It is from Kab. *zed*, grind thou; and, perhaps, better written, *imzād*.

*Tahūnt, tehūnt*, rock (Temght).

191. *Izezaw*, he saws?

*Iraha* should be *ighaha*; in Kab. *ighza*, he dug.

*Izāref*, strictly, he built; but *awet*, arrange, &c., 168.

192. *I sew a boat*, azeméagh tōraft. (184.)

*I repair a boat (by renewing the ropes along the junctions of the planks)*, asídagħ dar ázamay.

*I stop holes along the junctions of the planks in the boat*, asídagħ anūbay; *stop the holes well*, adegíndīgi.

*I scoop out the water*, úkis áman, sunkel áman.

193. *I make pots*, egūtagħ telikkan. (186.)

*I measure*, ekātagħ erēlan. (150. 178.)

*I weigh*, tawézúnagh. (Arab.)

*I divide*, nek ebdēkan.

*We divide*, nébbēdud.

194. *I join*, asírteagh (131.); nek asmokkasúkkūnet [comp. of *mōkas* (occurro) and *ken* (facio)?]

*I press the limbs (to give them relief)*, shampoo, rúbāzagħ.

*I anoint*, ashawagh; shúgeagh.

*I fan*, awilíngwālēgh; azúm-megħ-at.

195. *It is wonderful*, tejūjab (Arab. *ájeb*) takónit. (38.)

192. *Isid*, he closes?

*Ahis*, take out? 98.

*Sunkel*, read *sungħel*, cause to spout, empty out; 174, 175.

193. *Ebdēkan* is against analogy. On *ibdu* see 137. *Ibdud* may be frequentative. But *ebde*, *ebded* of 41 are quite different, allied to Arabic.

195. *Alūshel*, it is necessary? *he*, thou;

*Thou must go to Gúndam*, ahūshel ke ebe temeshālīt is Gúndam.

*It is worthy*, anímmeħel dirs.

*Straight on*, sinnémēħel.

*This is worthless*, wādagħ anímmeħelahastauyet yewulāghen.

196. *Our provisions are gone*, ezzud ímmende. (91.)

*The money is spent*, éħēri ímmēħesh.

*That is lost*, wādagħ aba.

*That is its character*, ímmek ídagħ áfal íkēne.

197. *It pains (me)*, íkmāhi; uzerāhi. *It itches*, ehāhi ókūmash. [There is to me an itching.]

*It is swollen*, eray; ekāf tasán-nist.

*This smells nice*, wādagħ ada yehōsken. [Adunn, smell?]

*This meat smells bad*, ísan wādagħ insāgak [insūragh]; ísan wādagħ adunnis írkē.

*ehe temeshālīt*, shouldst travel? (verb *ime-shal*).

*Animmeħel dirs*, (there is) an aim in it, an object in it? See 147. *Issimahāl*, it is worthy (Parable of "Prodigal Son").

196. *Wadagħ aba*, read *wadagħ abad*? In "Prodigal Son" we have first *abad* for "was lost" (which is Hebrew, not Arabic), and next *abat*, in same sense; verses 24 and 32.

197. *Okūmash* = *ekmez*, rub, scratch, Kab. *Adunn*, corrupt Arabic.

*Irkē*, dirty? So Venture. In Brosse-lard, *irka*, it is decayed. In "Prodigal Son," *egēgh irk*, I have done evil.

*Innek*, is bright? is clean?

198. *The meat is well boiled, isan ingnē.* (167.)

*The loaf is mouldy, tágelet te-búnkat.*

*The shirt is torn, rishāba ansarrawet* (211.); *rishābakarrawet.*

*The iron is rusty, tazōli war to tennēk.*

— *makes sparks, tikkēne te-shōri.*

— *hisses, ishirarákrak, ishi-barákrak.*

199. — *is red-hot, tazōli tūwas.*

— *is melting, tazōli timshelárlag.*

*hisses in the water, tazōli*

*isan áfdar fáddar dar áman.*

*The waterskin leaks, edídesíngē; edíđ itadēm.*

— *is torn, edíđ erarrawet.*

— *has a hole, edíđ imbek.*

200. *The house lets in the rain, tarashām teshínke.*

*This well never dries up, ānu wādagħ aigin kalá war itōgar* (or, war ikōr).

*It is always full of water, har kūk hant áman.*

199. *Esíngē* (rewritten from faint pencil marks), qu. *isinghel*? 174.

*Yadim*, it leaked?

*Imbek*, it is pierced?

200. *Ishínke*, it admits water?

*Aigin kalá*, at every time.

*Ikor*, Kab. it was dry. The *k* is liable to become *gh*.

*Har kūk*, usque ad æternum?

*Hant*, there are; fem. pl.?

*Insee*, is drunk up?

*The water soaks in, áman isan.*

*The pond has dried up, tiben-grawēn inshéshnet.*

201. *The road divides, abárraka tabarrat tífbeda.*

*One branch going to the left and another to the right, álílen íyet fel arin wa-n-aríl, íyet telaúdat teshelgēn.*

202. *The sun rises, tafōk tíggemāt* (118.); *tafōk berberdesín enis.*

— *has mounted the heavens, tafōk taségēde ishínnawen.*

(— *has begun to decline, tafōk tezíwal.* Arab.)

— *is about to set, tafōk tabūk égēdel.*

— *has set, tafōk tōdal.*

*Tibengrawēn*, the tanks? fem. pl.

*Inshéshnet* is 3rd fem. pl.

201. *Abarraka*, road. *Tabarrat* for *tabarraht* appears a diminutive for the same.

*Álilen*, following, 105.

*Íyet*, alter, as Kab., *yed* in Shilha. It is Arab. *أَيْعَسَ*. [Here it would seem fem. of *iyen*.]

*Arin* seems to be plural. Afterwards we have *arē* in like connection. *Er* is "branch" of a river. Also *seri idemennis* seems to mean "towards his face." I interpret *arē* or *erei*, direction. (Also *eri*, neck.)

*Aríl*, right, is also the "noon" (of day), = "upright." Since in Kab. *afūs ayyafūs* or *awiffūs* is the "right hand," I conjecture that *aríl*, right, is the same word as Kab. *aghel*, arm. See 228.

*Telaúdat*? *telilat*? or *telilant*?

202. *Desin* (*edis*, side).

*Del*, to stoop? *Ahedal*, is humble; but *del*, to cover, darken?

203. *The year is fertile, áwatay ik kénátēni.*

— *is sterile, áwatay igamánna.*

204. *The rainy season is come, ákase yūse.*

— *is gone, ákase ígēle, or yimmēde.*

*The cold increases, asemmēt étid.*

— *is strong, asemmēt íkkēne tigawet.*

— *lessens, asemmēt efenās. (94.)*

— *is over, asemmēt ébēgbag.*

205. *The (forty) dark nights are passed, éhaden isáttefen, or esáttafnén, ebarbar, or ejumá-dēde.*

*The black winter is gone, tá-gerist takaúelit tabárbar.*

*The white (i. e. mild part of the) winter is come, tégisht taméllélt tágérist.*

203. *Ikkendēni*, from *iken*, it makes; *tēheni*, dates? *tení*, dates, Mozabi and Wadreach. Also *ofātēni*, barren (land). [*Ikkenu* is productive; *tēni*, this season?—II. B.]

*Igamanna*, barren, and *emannet*, fertile, and *man-na-áwatay*, famine-year, need fuller elucidation.

204. *Tigawet* for *tíkuaet*, strength; Arab.?

205. *Ehad*, night; Ghad. *efad*; Wadreach, *eghed* (compare Arab. *g heu*, obtext); Kab. *eyyat*.

*Asattēf*, (with *t* in Ben Músa), black (or dark?).

*Akuel*, black, is *aghogul* in Wadreach, for which Venture has *inghāl*.

*Ejumádade*, freq. from *imeda*?

206. *The leaves are fallen, álan átarakat (71.), álan ámin.*

*The boughs are stript, afélliga ákūsen.*

*The tree is getting new leaves, abeláklak ehíshk.*

— *blooms, ehíshk ínshar.*

— *is bearing fruit, ehíshk aboriārak.*

— *is not full grown, ehíshk war idūil.*

— *is dead, ehíshk akkōr [is dried].*

207. *The dates are ripe, téhēni tingne. (167.)*

— *not yet ripe, téhēni har egōdi war tingne.*

*The herbage is coming forth, tēshe ebarbar or tafōkat [tafōghat, 174.].*

*The guinea-corn comes forth, énéli efōkat.*

*The guinea-corn gets reed, énéli ena kógēri.*

*The reed (stalk) bristles (in stubble), kógēri yikhtā.*

208. *The corn is making large leaves, énéli éje fárkētēn.*

*Tegisht*, as *tiggemāt* in 202. &c., seems to have final *t* as feminine mark, like Arabic.

206. *Ámi*, is faded?

*Iláklak*, budded forth?

*Inshar*, is beautiful? *Inshagh*? compare *amonshagh*, envious, &c., 116.

*Idūil*, (not again). In Kab. *itulan* or *dhulan*, kinsfolk, softened from *itgulan*, as think.

208. *Efērat*, yields harvest? In vocab. *ēferten*, salary,—*qu.* revenue? Heb. מַשְׁכָּר.

*The guinea-corn is ripe for harvest, énéli itáfúrat (eférat).*

*The herbage is drying up, tēshe takkōr [taggōr].*

*The ear of the corn comes out, tiggemat tegēnt énéli.*

*The ear is ripe, tegēnt tingná. (167.)*

209. *The river is rising, tódéfit egish eghírrēu [flood enters the river?].*

*The water stagnates, áman íb-dāden.*

— *soaks in, esintátārūr.*

— *is sinking, áman abukiürel.*

*The river is very full this year, étaf áman tení.*

*It will not sink at all, war oba-kímbi.*

*The rivers are joining, eghírríwan imókasen or írtāyen. (102. 131.)*

210. *Almost all the rivers run into the sea, eghírríwan rurret im-*

*Tégēnit, spike of corn (vocab.).*

209. *Tetēfit, flood? swell? from etaf?*

*Abúki yurēl, is about to sink?*

*Obuki imghi, chooses to go down. See 50.*

*Etaf, it pours or runs freely (not the same as etaf, to seize, with 1): hence causative, isattef, he pours, 174. In Kab. for etaf we find effid, and also effi, the d being pronominal.*

*Tení, this year, = tinēda. With tin compare Arab. sene, year.*

210. *Wa symmed, the salt. I observe, that wa retains the meaning of the before an adjective as well as before a participle, though it is lost with a substantive.*

*ókasen rōr eghírrēu wá symmed [meet at the salt river].*

*The boat is leaking, tōraft nákal [nághal]; tōraft tinral [tinghal]; or tinrálnarel [tinghálnaghel]; (see 174. 192., sunkel); tōraft titfagh, (174.).*

*[The boat is foundering], tōraft telkáyat (175.); tōraft tibbenekway.*

*The people who row (?) the boat get out (?), ádinēt audetánnāret tōraft titfar [titfagh].*

*The people perished, some swam in the water, ídinēt abāten iyeden yeshaffen dar áman.*

*Another rolls the boat sportively (?), íyaṭ ināfar tōraft sehūyam.*

*The people who are (of the ?) village, under the water deep (?), ídinēt auéhan amūzagh dedu áman lagat.*

\* *Those people lay goat-skins in the middle of the water which . . . ídinēt wuū degōn íden der mézen dor áman auay tímāntēn.*

211. *The boat is upset, tōraft tebumbay. (44.)*

— *breaks asunder, tōraft takaurawen.*

\* All conjectural.

211. *Ibbenekuay, pres. from Ibbeneka?*

*Ikaurau and ikarru (tear, rend violently), remind one of ezraurau, 190, 195, 196. Also tatáktarau, is shattered; with t interposed, as in Arabic 8th form.*

*The boat ran on rocks, tōraft  
tikkeséast tahōnt.*

*And sunk, and remained on the  
ground, tursar, telkāyat, tek-  
kel édir-n-áman [became un-  
der-of-the-water].*

212. *The water enters the tent, áman  
íggesh éhen.*

*This water stands still, is stag-  
nant, áman wādaghibbédäden.*

*It does not hasten much (has no  
current), war óshel hullen.*

*This river has a strong current,  
eghírrēu wādagh óshel hullen.*

213. *The water is boiling, áman ime-  
sharlárlärēn.*

— *áman ereshaushauēn.*

— *is not yet boiling, áman  
indi imesharlárlärēn.*

— *is very hot, áman ekōs  
hullen.*

*Boil [heat] water for me, ik-  
sūhe áman.*

*Let it cool in the skin, éyit yes-  
mat dér édid.*

214. *The bird flies, égēdid ígged.*

*The young bird will fly [wishes  
to fly], akirt abók tégad.*

*Ikhesās-t, pierced it? frequent. from  
ikhs? Tursar, for turza? was broken? Yet see yarasan, 64.*

213. *Isharlárlar, ishaushau? it boils or  
bubbles.*

214. Kab. *igtaf*, birds (sing. *agudet*, Hodgson: read *agatet*); but in Brossolard, *akfet*, pl. *iktaf*, a little bird. We have here the root *iget*; it flew, it sprang aloft, 47. 70.; whence *iseyget*, it mounted (202. 216.), and *tesaggať*, a feather.

*The bird sings nicely, égēdid  
elemisli yehōsken.*

*The hen cackles, tákēshilt rar  
middennis.*

— *lays eggs, tákēshilt tagāt  
ésārek.*

— *is screaming, tákēshilt te-  
gabātolt.*

215. *The egg is not yet hatched, té-  
sādalt ur tisfákktet.*

*The egg is spoiled, téśādalt tíg-  
gūled.*

*The eggs are spoiled, tesādālen  
egadiddēnad.*

*The young bird picks (at the  
egg), akaukautet akirt.*

*He will come forth, uhad efó-  
ket.*

*Elemisli* may seem a derivative or com-  
pound from *isla*, he heard, *amisli*, a voice.

*Tákēshilt*, a hen; elsewhere, *takēshīt*, which seems more correct, as it is the feminine form of *akes*, the cock, which again perhaps is more correctly *akez*, the z in Temght changing to sh. In Kab. the forms are *ayazīt*, a cock, *tayazīt* or *thayazīt*, a hen; for *aghazīt*, *thagazīt*, it seems. Even in Temght it may be inquired whether *gh* is not more correct than *k*; i. e. *aghez*, a cock, *tughēzīt*, a hen.

*Rar*, i. e. *ghar*, cries; رار. *Midden-nis* her cackling. On *den* or *denden*, see 26.

*E'sārek*, a litter (of eggs)?

215. *Tigēded*, is birded? (214.), i. e. is quickened. It is fem. sing., and the fem. pl. *egadiddēnat* (not *-nad*). Elsewhere, *ikhshed*, it is spoiled, 167.

*Kaut* (for hack, hew, cut) seems a widely-spread root. Arab. *katā*, and above, *ektas*.

*Ahad efóket*, may be future tense. See 174. and 220. Final *t*, feminine mark?



*The cock is crowing, ákes ege-  
tarören.*

216. *The horse neighs, ais etehinnít.  
· prances, ais öskar.  
—— goes backward, ais érüren.  
· rolls, ais abelánbület.  
—— kicks, ais erübar or isäkat.  
· is lame, ais ehiak.  
—— rolls in the sand, ais inäfar.  
—— has mounted the mare, ais  
asüggëdit tábügöt.*

217. *The camel is crying, ámënis éjü.  
—— growls, ámënis abéggeg.  
—— throws up the nose, ámë-  
nis etishburdel.  
The she-camel has brought  
forth, tólamt tórau.  
· is about to bring forth, tó-  
lamt teshwar tórau.*

218. *The camel is lying down to re-*

*Egetarören* = *igetaghören*, present partic.  
from *ighār*.

216. *Ihinnēt*, nearly Latin *hinnio*.

*Oskar*, prances. In Kab. *isekkar*, he  
caused to stand; *ishar*, he made; *aksar*,  
the lower part.

*E'rar*, goes backward? Kab. *ürür*, the  
back.

*Iräbar*, perhaps, "stamps:" 172.

*Isäkat*, kicks.

*Isägget*, as in 214. 202. &c.; unless final  
-*tiṭ* is here frequentative.

217. *Éjü*, is crying; = *igewa*, and fem.  
pl. *egëwänet*. Hence in Niphal, *iniggu* or  
*inijju*, it bellows.

*Tólamt* or *tólamt*, camel, fem. for *alöm* or  
*elyham*, words not used in this dialect. Evi-  
dently *elgham* = Heb. *gemel*. It also makes  
*aram* in Shilha.

*Teshwar*, Kab. *tezwar*, she precedes or  
begins, 85.

*ceive the load, ámenis egen,  
égag fellas ilälan [one heaps  
on him the luggage, 98.].*

*The camel refuses to rise, áme-  
nis tindäras ténnäkrat.*

*Too much load on him, égan  
fellas ilälan agötëni.*

*The camels graze, immënas idä-  
nan.*

*The she-camels cry, they want  
to be milked, tólemín egëwä-  
net, irhānet tázit.*

219. *The bullock lows, ámäke eníjju.*

*The cow lows, tūs aníjju.*

*The cows chew the cud, iwan  
afarúdënit.*

*The cows are sated, íwan iwä-  
net.*

*They lie down, ikarümënet.*

*The cows are returning from  
the water, íwan asúwanet, ik-  
tárnet fel áman.*

*The cows return the food, íwan  
isókalnet. (25.)*

218. *Indar*, he refused, 112. It differs  
from *asindar*, throw down (which is per-  
haps *asintar*, from *itar*, he went down), and  
from *emendar*, to lodge for the night, which  
is *emenagh*.

*Egan*, it lies.

219. *Afärad*. See *efërat*, in 208.

*Iwänet*, from root *iwa* or *íwan*, to sa-  
tiate. In Kab. *thayawant* or *thawant*, sa-  
tiety.

*Íwän*, cows, may be shortened from  
Kab. *yugäwen*, steers. The root *yüg* is, as  
in our tongues, a yoke; whence *thayüga*,  
a pair.

*Asü-änet*, they have drunk.

*Ihtar* seems to be Arab. 8th form, from *kar*.

220. *The he-goat bleats*, eshōlak ahī-lēlet.  
*The she-goats bleat*, ūlli essi-lāfnet.  
*The ram bleats*, abákkar úsilef.  
*The sheep bleat*, tíbatén essi-lāfnet esmedanésnet.
221. *The lion roars*, eher eníggu, eher erikku.  
*The lion is crouching*, eher ehérnen abók fēllauen ehe.  
*[will attack people]*, eher ehádíshek ídinet.  
 — *[tears in pieces?]*, ashmma-raurauest ídinet.  
 — *[destroys them]*, eshma-híshten ídinet.
222. *The dog snarls [crouches? see 139.]*, ēdi tehárna.  
*The dog bites*, ēdi tād.  
 — *barks*, ēdi itíshut or ité-rōns.  
*The scorpion bites (me)*, tataihi tasírdant.
223. *The ostrich runs fast*, énnēhel ehāsar hullen.  
*The ostrich hides his head in the bush*, énnēhe ísed arāfēnis [aghāfēnis] der ehíshk.  
*He thinks nobody sees him*, arēl war tehinnēn ídinet.
224. *The man was sitting on the shore*, ahālis akīm rōr alim-n-áman.  
*Suddenly a crocodile seized him by the leg [knee?], and went away with it [him?]* azūed arāte irmast safód, ilmar deris. (*Dēris*, under it?)
225. *The river horse rose in the water (to the surface of the water), and snorted*, ajámba úskaket dar áman isáfārad.  
*The river horse has upset the boat*, ajámba irbar tōraft.  
*The river horse has shattered the boat*, ajámba tárzar [tarza?] tōraft.

220. *Ahīlēlet*, from *elil*, to cry aloud. Ghad. *esil*, Kab. *esíwel*, from *awal*, voice. Barth has also *asilel*.

*Asilel* bleat, is more specific.

*Iherna*, he crouched. See 139.

*Ishek* invasit (137.); but future (215.) *ehadíshek*, invadet.

*Imthesh*, (my money) is spent; whence frequent. with causative sense, *ishmahish*, he annihilated.

222. *Tasírdant*, more correctly *tazer-dent*, scorpion, as in 227. In Kab. *tégir-dunt* and *tegerent*.

*Tataihi*, has stung me? from *tatay*, drive in a peg, 176.

223. *Ennēhel*, so Hodgson; not *ennēhe*, ostrich.

*Ised*. See 81.

*Arēl*. See 156.

*War et-ehinnen*, non eum vident?

224. *Alim*, edge, border? In 50. we have *esalim*, shore, and *asarim* in vocabulary. Elsewhere, *alim* is skin, for *aglim* of Kab. Also *alim*, chaff, straw, in Kab.

*Azūed*, sudden (heavy).

*Irmast*, seized. *Afod*, knee, in vocabulary.

*Ilmar*, not again in this sense.

225. *Irbar*, crushed with his feet, 172.

*Tárzar*: compare *Irsar* in 171.

226. *The vulture hovered over the gazelle*, elullen ilay ginnigis ashinkat.

*Until it pounced upon it, and tore out its eyes*, har asgen felles ístaras, íkas tettáwennis.

*Lay the pillow upon the mat (carpet)*, sins ádáför fel is-ífter [fel isiftakh].

227. *I this morning found a scorpion under my carpet*, nek tifaut idak enhagh tezerdemt dau tesúftakhtēn.

*Lay a cloth under your saddle*, ége tashíshwart dau mēdášh.

*Let it hurt the back of your horse*, war erášhādēt (or itemanūkit) arōrin aís innak.

228. *At that place the river runs upon rock*, dar agel wādagħ áman óshālen fel tihōn.

*He fell along the [gallery? landing-place?]*, enta etarákatet fēl sōrō.

226. *Har asgen*, until; *felles*, upon it; *ístaras*, it pounced, from *iras*, it descended. Thus *asgen* seems to mean "a time," "a while." In Kab. *azgen*, half, middle, part. *Sins*, cause to rest? from *insa*, he rested? 42. 58.

*Isiftakh*, evidently from Arab. *futakh*.

The  $\zeta$  is presently corrupted into *kh*.

227. *F'ge*, make, for, put.

*Erashādēt* seems to be subjunctive from *ishad* or *ishadet*. Compare Arabic *shadha*, he harmed.

*Itemanūkit*, root, *naku*? *Temunkit* is exhaustion.

*Till he came below the staircase [steps of the gallery?]*, har óse dau íbtalen sōrō.

*All the day he sat in his tent*, ashel rurret ekēm der ehēnnis.

229. *He put it in his pocket*, enta egēt der elshēb.

*Do not enter the house*, war tégēshit tárāshām.

*Stay outside*, ébbedid dágāma.

*Outside the town*, ágēmē-n-ághērīm.

*There is nothing but mere sand*, war ehēt har ákal mellen.

230. *Thou hast not given me my (full) right*, war he tawēdet el hakkī.

*He went before me*, íggēle ilá-datāi.

*Look before you, that you may not fall*, sageréhe dātak, war tídu.

*I went behind him*, égelēgh ilá-dāras.

228. *Agel*, place? (Is it the same as *aghel*, Kab. arm? See 201. on *aril*.)

229. *El jib* is Arabic.

*Dágāma*, on the outside, *agēma*, outside, are from *igem*, he went out, 118. 138.; whence also *gēma*, without (sine).

*Mellen*, white; here for pure.

*Ákal*, mould, soil, as in Kab. Elsewhere in Temght it is land or country.

230. *El hakk* is Arab. and final *i* the Arab. pronoun "my." *Tawēdet*, thou hast made even, equasti. See 168.

*Sageréhe*, if it is one word, would seem by 11 to mean "look with pleasure."

*Tídu* (rather *tidut*? or *tidurt*?). See 104.

*Let us look behind us,* sanish-lámanak dáranak [sanishlámanagh dáranağh].

*Lest these men betray us,* war hanak [hanagh] ighádernit ídinet ídagħ.

231. *All round this mountain,* ádar wádagh terlaite, *there is fine pasture,* éhe téshe tehóske.

*At the side of the mosque,* tamiz-gída d' edisennis [*the mosque, at its side*],

*is a large well,* ehe ánu makkören. *Sit down at my side,* arem d' édisín.

232. *Opposite each other,* inéhásan gerésan.

*Sit opposite to me, thy face to me,* arim dihádar annädíd seri idiménnek.

*He sat opposite, his face to me,* ekēm annädíd seri ideménnis.

*To your right, dek aríl inneκ.* (201.)

*Sanishlam.* See 11.

*Ighádernit,* fem. plur., because *idinet* (*du-niat*, Arab.) is fem.

231. *Arem* = *aghēm* = *agim* = *ekēm*, sit, stay.

232. *Inéhásan* = *inéházan*, from *ihaz*, 55, he was near. *Gerésan*, inter sc.

*Dihadar*, from Ar. حاضر, "present."

*Annädíd*, παρδιδίος? from *ned*, αλλος (as Kab.). Ben Müsa gives *ghim nediu*, sit near me, as Temght. So *endi*, nearest, next. It is spelt with *d* or *t* thick in Kab.

*Akel*, go thou? see 124.; or, turn thou? See 25.

*Sibber*, from Arab. صبر?

*Keep to your right,* akel sibbertn arílinnek [go keeping your right?].

*To your left,* fel teshelginak.

233. *When you go from Timbüktu to Gündam,* ke tesékalak dak Timbýtku kék Gündam.

*Leave the river at your left,* óye eghírrëu fel arë wa-n-téshilgën.

*And you have open country on your right,* d-óyak bóderär fel arë wa-n-aríli.

234. [*Ordinarily the river is shallow, below the place of this year*], ennädír eghírrëu ade-jásal, éder ádiget tenídagħ.

*This exceeds that,* wádagh yōgar wádagh.

*There is nothing left of it,* war akímën ders harret.

235. *That is a different thing,* wādagħ amūs harret.

*It is rare,* war agít.

*Similar,* amélehen.

*It is like,* yúlehe, yúle.

*Like,* shynd, sund [zund?]

233. *Tesékalak*, read *tesékalat*? 2nd pers. sing.

*Oyak*, elsewhere, is "I left."

*Boderär*, open country.

234. *S ennädír*, in custom?

*Adejásal*, pres. tense from *gazel*, to be short? (gzl or wzl.)

235. *Amūs*, moves, changes?

*War agít*, it does not do (it)?

*Yúlehe, yúle.* See 40.

*Sund* is *zund* and *zun* in Kab. (Arab. *zain*, comely, elegant.)

*All the same, berish.*

236. *Whichever way you take, every where you find water, atif tigidl titetaffet, dags attig-gerant áman (take straight which-you-take, on it you alight (on) water?).*

*Keep straight on, áttíl tígüdid ghas (keep straight only).*

*Straight, tígüdid.*

237. *Do not [trouble yourself? or run?] this way, nor that? war has tishlet, sihā, wolla sihū.*

*The river runs between mountains, eghírrëu yūshal ger adāren.*

*The road leads through a thick forest, where are plenty of lions, abárraka teha (igrah) arkit úrmā; ihs tawkhast; ehant éwokhsan.*

238. *I arrived before him, and had to wait for him, nek ésegh arássit awādagh indeō dawāt shwār-akēlās.*

*I arrived after him [thee?], nek ósegh dārak.*

*After the corruption of the whole earth, Jesus will descend, dāret adígdlig-n-ákal ikétēnes, adezūbet 'Aisa.*

## NOUNS.

God, { A'manay.  
Mesí.\*

*By the great God, se A'manay mák-karen or imakóren.*

*Our Lord, Mesí-nak.*

*The great God, Mesí-nak imakóren.*

*God the ruler, Mesí-nak yitkúl.*

The one { Mesí-nak enta ghás.  
God { Mesí-nak íyen ghás.  
Mesí-nak iyéntinten.

*God, who has no fellow (companion), Mesí-nak war ilamídi,*

*nor has shape? (bounds?) war ilúra,*

236. In Kab. *tidíd*, true, seems to be here *tigüdid* or *tidégid*.

*Attil*, be thou? = *ilí*?

237. *War ash tishlet*: *has*, for him? *tishlet*, from *yushal*, runs, or from *shela*, disturb, bustle, 115.

*Ihe* or *diha*, where.

\* *Mesí*, perhaps originally the name of the Messiah, although *mes* means master in Temght.

*Ehant*, 152., there are.

*Wokhs*, wild beast; Arab. *wahhūsh*.

*Tawak(h)ast*, wild beasts collectively.

238. *Esagh* = *eseegh*, from *yose*, he arrived. *Arasset* = Kab. *azzeth*, before? See

140. *Indi*, (not) *yét*.

*Dawat*, from *awaf*, he arrived? 51.

*Shuaragh-ed-as*, I anticipated him?

*Daret*, for *dar*, after; so *darret* in Prod.

Son.

*Adigdig*, crush, in 130.

*Adezūbet*, from *zōb*, 62.

*nor measure ? war iléhit.*

*God has no measure neither of space  
nor time, Mesí-nak úri behéndek  
war ilédek war ihédek, war ihédek  
wá, wolladar wá, war ihédek,  
war úgedi tiketi.*

*Lord of the wonders, { imekéder-n-talrewän.  
                                  { Mesís-n-talrewän.*

*The Uncreated, wardikhalig. (Arab.)*

*The Creator, amakhaläg. (Arab.)*

*Cultivator of the soul ? amákarash  
imman.*

*Lord of the soul, Mesís imman.*

*The Merciful Shepherd, amadün-n-  
tahánint.*

*The Victorious, emirni.*

*The Extirpator, amáng.*

*The Living, emay (from Arab. hay).*

*The Judge Supreme, ntarna tógerit  
(?).*

*All the creatures of the Lord are to  
gather in (in the court of) Jeru-  
salem on the day of resurrection,  
timúkhlukün-n-Mesí-nak rurret di-  
daunet istérrabat-n-bét el Mákká-  
dus áshel wá-n-el kiámet.*

*One part of them enter the hell and  
remain there, others enter paradise  
and remain there, wui tájéshen  
témsi ajíshente, wui tájéshen aljen-  
net ajíshente.*

*The evil spirits, alghafáriten. (Arab.)*

*Devil, eblís. (Arab.)*

*Angel, anyélus,\* pl. anyelúsen.*

*Demon, alshín, pl. alshinen. (Arab.)*

*Female demon, talshín.*

*The paradise enter the people who*

*(have been) good, the hell those  
who (have been) bad, aljennet  
atajéshen idínet wui yolághnin,  
témsi atajéshen idínet wui labásen.*

*The throne (of { al kurshi. (Arab.)  
                                  { algharsh. (Arab.)  
God),*

*The day of resurrection, áshel wá-  
n-el kiámet.*

*The world, eddúnia (rurret).*

*Heaven, ashínna.*

*The seven heavens, say ishínnawen.  
Sun, tafök.*

*The sun warms his face hot to-day,  
tafök tenádit idéminis wakúsen  
áshel dín. [Comp. tenedôt, fever  
heat.]*

*The sun burns, the people are per-  
spiring, tafök tarra, idínet tufay  
dersen tíde [exit per eos sudor].*

*The strength of the sun's heat, tise-  
nánit (n-takós enis).*

*Sunbeams, ezéreran-n-tafök.*

*Dawn of sun (of day), enaréren-n-  
tafök.*

*The sun is eclipsed (to-day), tafök  
témmere áshel ídagh.*

*Moon, ayör.*

*The moon is about to come forth  
(rise), ayör abóki ebárbar.*

*The moon rises, ayör ebárbar.*

*The moon is setting, ayör abóki éjedel.*

*The moon sets, ayör ódal.*

*Full moon, ahadör (akókehat?).*

*Moonlight, timelle-n-ayör.*

*Halo, úfarak-n-ayör.*

*The moon has a halo, ayör yuwát  
úfarak.*

*The moon is eclipsed to-night, ayör  
amére éhad ídagh.*

† Anyelús, the Greek αγγελος.—H.B.

*Galaxy*, mahellen.

*Star*, átar; *pl.* ítaren.

*The stars shine forth*, ítaren iknún ebarbar.

*The stars shine brightly*, ítaren iknún ashishíllwak.

*Lucifer*, tátari.

*Vesper*, { amawen-n-éhad.  
ashímmelesh.

*Pleiad*, shéttahat.

*Cross* (mejbúa), amanár.

*Light*, { tafaut (*of sun*).  
teméllolot (*of moon*).  
tisákhsarēn (*as thrown*  
*through latticework, &c.*).

*Darkness*, tíhay.

*Fata morgana*, éle.

*Shade, shadow*, téle.

*Heat*, { takōs.  
ténede.

*Cold*, { iredēm.  
asammēt.

*The cold has penetrated to my bones.*  
asammēt ejáserín darrim eghús ení.

*North*, afelle.

*South*, agūs.

*East*, amaina.

*West*, atāram.

*North-east (between east und north),*  
ger amaina ge de felle.

*Air*, hawa. (*Arab.*)

*Summer*, iwílen.

*Beginning of rainy season (called*  
*awára in Timbúktu),* asherágu.

*Rainy season*, úkase.

*The rainy season is over*, úkase íbse.

*Cold season*, tágerist.

*The dark nights (the worst part of*  
*the cold season),* éhaden esáttesen.

*Spring (called tífisko* { afásko.  
*in Timbúktu),* { fatáfot.

*Wind, gale*, témadálet.

*I see there is rising a heavy gale,*  
ánhiagh dehén denúkar témadálet  
imakkóren.

*Storm, whirlwind*, teshigwálet.

*Storm ga-* { teshwálet teshigwálet.  
*thers,* { tegéd ders teshigwálet.

*Heavy rain clouds*, tamsíggénaut.

*Red clouds*, tiggerakín.

*Lightning*, ésan.

*Thunder*, éjaj.

*It thunders*, etájij.

*Lightning (thunder) has struck the*  
*tree and split it\*,* éjaj ódagh fel  
ehishk atúkhtak áfarás farás.

*Rain*, { ajínne.  
úkonay.

*It is raining*, ajínne égat.

*The rain is coming, it is dripping,*  
ákona ízay, dekun tabákhtabek.

*Raindrops (reshresh),* tidam.

*Moderate rain*, ahís.

*Heavy shower*, tabéut.

*Long lasting rain, now ceasing, then*  
*beginning again,* tahaléhalay.

*Hail*, igidirshān.

*The hail falls, beating and tear-*  
*ing the tents,* igidirshān ófayen,  
ishohárnin náabajen ihánnan isa-  
rarawen ihánnan.

*Rainbow*, agagónil (ajejónet?).

*Fog*, abínnag, ebónnag.

*To day is a foggy day, nobody can*  
*see anything,* áshel idagh íja ebén-  
nag, war ihínne awádem harret.

\* The Tawárek attribute this effect to the thunder.

*Dew*, túras.

*Much dew has fallen this night*, éhad ídagħ šja túras tejēt.

*Time*, elwakkat. (Arab.)

*Year*, áwatay.

*Five years*, summus útien.

*Century*, temēde-n-áwatay.

*A year of famine*, manne.

*Month*, ayōr.

*Three months*, karád ayōren.

*Day*, úshel.

*Four days*, akōs eshílan.

*This is a fine day*, úshel ídagħ ík-kena teshéldėje.

*Dawn*, énarēr.

*Morning*, tifaut.

*Dhahar* (about 9 A.M.), agidélsit.

*Heat of the day*, tárahōd.

*Noon*, { aríl-n-úshel.  
ammās-n-úshel.

*Zawál*, aziwál.

*Dhohor* (about 2 P.M.), tézar.

*'Aser*, tákast.

*Sunset*, ágadel-n-tafūk.

*Time of prayer after sunset*, almos.

*Evening*, túduit.

*Prayer of áshá*, tesótsin.

*Night*, éhad; pl. éhaden.

*Midnight*, { ammas-n-éhad.  
tazúnne-n-éhad.

*To-morrow*, ashikke.

*Early to-morrow morning*, ashikken semmút.

*To-morrow at noon*, aríl-n-úshel ashikké.

*The day after to-morrow*, úshel wuēn shel ashikke.

*Yesterday*, endíshel.

*Last night*, endíshel, endód.

*The day before yesterday*, { áshelendín.  
ashelnád.  
úshel wuēn úsel endázal.

*This year*, { tení, tinéda.  
áwatay ídagħ.

*Last year*, { inhād.  
tenínde.

*Two years ago*, { tenendín.  
essín útien.

*Next year*, áwatay wué 'lkamén éwuānen had.

*This month*, der ayōr ídagħ.

*Next month*, ayōr wá yílkeme ayōr ídagħ.

*This month is about to close*, ayōr wúdagħ ishwar íbbeded or amút.

*Saturday*, Essébbet.

*Sunday*, Alhád.

*Monday*, Eliitnín.

*Tuesday*, Eltenáta. } Arab.

*Wednesday*, Lárba.

*Thursday*, Elkhamís.

*Friday*, Eljýmma.

*Week* (seven days), sá shílen (eshílen).

*Moharrem*, Tamasíddig.

*Safar*, Téurt tatézet. } Turēn

*Rebia I*, Téurt tatílkamat. } sanátet.

*Rebia II*, Azíma zarén.

*Jumád I*, Azíman ammas.

*Jumád II*, Azíman téirirdēn.

*Rejeb*, Tinemégerēn.

*Shábán*, Janfo.

*Ramadhán*, Azūm.

*Háj*, Tésubdūr.

*Shawál*, Tesissi tatézet. } Tésist  
*Dhu el Heje*, Tesissi ta- } sanátet.  
tílkamat.

*Echo*, { émsewel.  
tákoý.



*Fire, éfëu.*

*Flame, táhist.*

*Spark, temántest; pl. temántesin.*

*Firecoals, tezózan.*

*Ashes, ézit-n-éféu.*

*Smoke, aliü.*

*Water, áman.*

*Land, earth, ákal.*

*Country of the Awelimmiden, ákal  
wá-n-Wuëlimmiden.*

*Island, áutel.*

*Wilderness, arkit.*

*Clear forest, éhishkan amitaréta-  
réen.*

*Impassable covert, árkít urmá.*

*Dense forest, arkit arú, or akóren.*

*Desert, afëlle (prop. North).*

*Hammáda, desert plain, tanazrú-  
fet.*

*Plain, étaras.*

*Large valley, erárar.*

*Valley with a torrent, eghásher =  
eghzer in other dialects.*

*Small torrent, egherrür.*

*Mountain, ádar; pl. ádaren.*

*Inaccessible mountain, ádar urmá  
war teh' abárraka.*

*Hill, tádakt.*

*Sandhill, tégift; pl. tégefën.*

*(Range) of high sandhills, tégefën  
ogidáhenet.*

*Small sandhill, teneshmór.*

*Rock, tahónit.*

*Stone, tahön.*

*Source, tét; pl. tittawen.*

*Well, { shallow, { ebenkör.  
                  { tiris.  
                  { deep,    { änu.*

*River, eghírrëu.*

*Branch of river, { ér,  
                          { ádar-n-eghírrëu.*

*Current, ámañen (waters).*

*Wave, tinezëmmart.*

*Deep place of channel in river, télak-  
n-áman.*

*Bank of river, ásarim, or ésalim.*

*Ford, teawent.*

*Torrent, rivulet, anghi.*

*Sea (the salt river), eghírrëu wa  
symmen.*

*Temporary lake, pond, abéng.*

*Black naked soil round a pond, ti-  
fárrawen.*

*Green surface on stagnant pool, ta-  
hízzak.*

*Cavity, hole, terárart (dim. of erárar).*

*Sand, témelilt.*

*Lime, tálak.*

*Mud, illebók.*

*Stones, or rather, round masses of  
lump (called áfaray in Timbúktu),  
for building, ebélghetän.*

*Black soil, ákal ikaúelit.*

*White sandy soil, ákal imëllen.*

*Field, shékarash.*

*Stubble-field, tédik; pl. tedkën.*

*Hedge, fence, áfarak. (Arab.)*

*Slight fence, táfarak.*

*Road, { abárraka.  
          { túbarit.*

*Tree, elíshk; pl. éhishkan.*

*Young tree, bush, { absag.  
                          { tasúgit.*

*Root (of tree), tékewën.*

*Wood, ésağhër.*

*Bad spot in wood, ikerísh keráshen.*

*Branch, illeket; pl. illiktän.*

*Splinter, tímetaut; pl. tímetawen.*

*Leaf*, ālan ehīshk.

*Large leaves* (?), tefārketēn-n-ehīshk.

*Dum-leaves*, takīlkatēn-n-akōf.

*Bark*, tissīfuft.

*Peel*, husk, kékkabēn.

*Flower*, tábuit.

*Fruits*, (pl.) áratēn-n-ehīshkan.

*Seed*, seeds, ísambān.

*Thorn*, ísinnūn.

*Talha*, ésaghēr (tésaghart).

*Mimosa gummifera*, auwārwar.

*A thorny tree in the river*, tagerábba.

*E'tíl*, nghar (taghart).

*Duwé* (variety of *figus*), tedúmumt.

*Siddret el hoë*, akéllefo.

*Tamarind* (tree and fruit), busúsu.

*Monkey-bread tree* (baobab), tekú-dust.

*Fruit of monkey-bread tree*, tefín-gora.

*Tree called ásabay in Timbúktu*, úna.

*Nebek-tree* (*zizyphus*), ferkónnish.

*Nebek-fruit*, tabákkat; pl. tibakkátēn.

*Siwák*,  
*El irák*, } *Capparis sodata*, téshak.

*Root of siwák*, éke-n-téshak.

*Dum-bush* (*sgillem*), akōf.

*Dum-palm*, tagai.

*Fruits of dum-palm*, tibélkukawūn.

*Seed of dum-palm*, tibargárrarēn.

*Date-tree*, tashdait.

*Date*, téheni.

*Date-stone*, egeft.

*Deléb* (*Borassus flabelliformis* ?), te-kúkat; pl. tekúkatēn.

*Herbage*, { *fresh*, téshe.  
                  { *dry*, téshe yekōr.

*Pennisetum distichum* (entí) úzak.

*Hád*, tashāret.

*Talubbút*, teliggít.

*Bú rékheba* (*Panicum colonum*), arárfasú.

*Young, tender herbage*, ínghalas.

*Reed*, kógeri.

*Knot of reed*, tekárdofēn-n-kógeri.

*Pennisetum typhoideum* (hēni), éneli.

*Sorghum* (sába), { *white*, abórak.  
                          { *red*, kelénki.  
                          { *black*, síbi.

*Bran*, { tellúmt.  
          { dú.  
          { ábid.

*Ear of the corn*, tégenit.

*Seeds of the corn*, tezawēn.

*The large seeds* (?), igépshtēn.

*The small seeds* (?), ísemarátēn.

*Crops about to come forth from the ground*, sibbergábelagh áfagh.

*Corn of all kinds*, alūn.

*Various species* { *asúka*.  
                          { *asralt* (asghalt ?).  
                          { *táshbit*.  
                          { *téjebalt*.

*Rice*, táfakat.

*Wheat*, elkáme. (*Arab.*)

*Barley*, farkasúbu.

*Cucurbita melopepo* (*el hadēsh*), beráberá.

*Water-melon*, kaukáune.

*Onion*, takhfār; pl. tékhfāren.

*Cotton*, takerókerit; pl. tikurukarēn.

*Indigo*, síggeni.

*Nymphæa lotus*, kalókaló.

*Endairi*, tikíndi.

*Senna* (*fálajit*), abellenjāt.

*Saffron*, tenármet.

*Æsclepias gigantea* (*turja*), túrsha;  
pl. túrshawēn.



*Cat*, mús.

*Mice*, akör.

*Field-mice*, adö.

*Fåret el khél*, araranga.

*Rat*, irállen.

*Wild animals*, { temár gesht.  
tiwaksën, táwakast.

*Lion*, { éher; pl. éheran.  
éwukshan.

*Young of lion*, aledásh.

*Surnames of lion*, { bubánti.  
budegaye.  
intende.

*Leopard*, awúshit, elwúshil.

*Surnames of leopard*, { ashebógel.  
gérrier.

*Hyena*, aridal.

*Surnames of hyena*, { énadár.  
erkínni.

*Jackal*, ebég; pl. ebeggán.

*Surnames of jackal*, { intainót.  
intaine sóso.  
intangrén.

*Elephant*, élu; pl. éluan.

*Giraffe*, amdar; pl. imídderen.

*Erkemim (buffalo)*, asarúke.

*Lynx, Leucoryx*, ashamál; pl. íshe-mál.

*U'rik*, antelope, ésham.

*Urkiye*, the female, tésham; túrik.

*Ar*, other antelope, agíngara.

*Oryx*, téderít; pl. tederáten.

*Other species of antelope*, ábeshaw;  
pl. tebeshawen.

*Gazella* } énhar; fem. ténhar; pl.  
mohor, } ténharén.

*Young of mohor*, alímmu.

*Gazelle*, ashínkat.

*Young of gazelle*, aushím.

*Resting-place of gazelle*, abatöl-n-  
ashínkat; pl. íbtál.

*Wild sheep*, ulli-n-arúk.

*Porcupine, hedgehog (dhurbán)*, tá-  
marait.

*Gamsúd (squirrel?)*, tekenésit.

*Hare*, temáruwelt.

*Small animal like the hare*, áshan  
ábaróm.

*Bú el gedemüt*, akazáse.

*Monkey*, { haya.  
fonóten.  
ibíddawen, pl.  
abárdawil. (?)

*River-horse*, (called banga in Tim-  
búktu), agámbe.

*Crocodile (ákaray)*, { aráta.  
akátel.

*Smaller species* (مستور Lacerta  
monitor?), zangway.

*Chameleon*, tahau.

*Frog*, égar.

*Manatus*, ayü.

*Fish*, úmen.

*Largest species of fish (Perca Nilo-  
tica?)*, tehédelt-n-úman.

*Large black fish*, déshir.

*Other species*, { tashéllin.  
tagónit.

*A species, of white colour, and great  
thickness*, tagursíyat.

{ tagúndirit.  
*Other species*, { tehéddadash.  
sariya.

*A fish with four large teeth and red  
tail*, zawegíru.

*Cyprinus Niloticus*, dá.

*Mormyrus oxyrinchus*, wusí.

*Other species of fish*, {  
                                   horá.  
                                   ejjira.  
                                   marámbana.  
                                   bánjerít.

*Malapterurus electricus*? tarlibambó.

*Smallest species of fish*, íshenrú.

*Snake*, táshilt.

*Large species of snake which devours the gazelle*, tanároët.

*A large snake, between green and black*, tagíber. •

*Tabelénke*, tajébdaret.

*Other kinds of snake*, {  
                                   iméggel.  
                                   emellel katetúngu.

*Scorpion*, tezérdemt.

*Lizard*, magédar; *pl.* imegédaren.

*Bù-néna* (small black lizard), agaráyan.

*Turtle*, {  
                   large, yúma.  
                   small, akéyún.

*Bird*, agadíd; *pl.* íggedád.

*Young bird*, ákirt; *pl.* íkirtán.

*Cock*, ákes; *pl.* íkesan.

*Hen*, tákeshít.

*Chicken*, íkirtán-n-tákeshít.

*Pigeon*, teddebérat; *pl.* idebíren.

*Egg*, tésadalt; *pl.* tesadálen.

*Ostrich*, éennehe (énnehel?); *pl.* énhál.

*Empty egg of ostrich, placed on the top of the huts*, átakís-n-énnehe; *pl.* itkás.

*Vulture*, ágadír; *pl.* ígderän.

*Hadaya*, tegardímmat.

*Rahme*, tarálgi.

*Guinea-hen* (called in Timbúktu el kabésh), tailelt; *pl.* taílalén.

*Young of guinea-hen*, isuwíten.

*Kumarén*, tének.

*Crow*, *pl.* tíbkakén.

*Stork*, waliya.

*Spoonbill* (ádanay), gelgúttá; *pl.* gelguttítén.

*Sparrow*, ákabör.

*Little red bird*, sheterjénne.

*Fly*, *pl.* éshán.

*Horse-fly*, azarúwal.

*Bee*, isimbo; *pl.* isimboën.

*Mosquito*, tadést.

*Small black ant*, téatuf.

*Large red ant*, ádehik.

*Large black ant* (el kós), kíldékó.

*White ant*, temmédhé.

*Ant-hill*, arámmín.

*Worm*, ibékkebék.

*Worm whose bite is painful*, ekímdal.

*Mukhét el ardh* (venomous), agarayé.

*Earwigs* (amaroës), asís.

*A white worm that penetrates into the nose of the camel*, tózera.

*Corn worm*, mulúl.

*Leather worm*, tükemat.

*Beetle*, ákhshinshēr; *pl.* takhshínsharēn.

*Lice*, télik; *pl.* tilkīn.

*Camel lice*, teselúfet; *pl.* téselfīn.

*Caterpillar*, tázelit.

*Tail of horse, cow, camel, &c.*, tedémbut.

*Hair on the front of horse*, täunshut.

*Mane*, azak.

*End of mane*, tul-azák.

*White spot on the front of horse*, tesénnit.

*Hof*, éskar; *pl.* éskaren.

*Trot*, teréggít.

*Peculiar kind of trot*, tághala.

*Gallop*, asháwenk.

- Various kinds of diseases of horses,* tábaja.  
 tikinkarēn.  
 árashād.  
 { tillík.
- Ulcer of horse, &c.,* tefédit.
- Dry scab,* áshiyūt.
- El mebbár,* amséraragh.
- Sudden death,* rárat.
- Place where the horses usually lie down,* úsabel-n-bal.
- Chest of camel,* tásgint.
- Horn of ox,* ésoḵ; *pl.* ískawen.
- Hoofs of ox,* tinsawen.
- Udder,* tezé.
- Teat,* ifúffar.
- Footprint,* ésem; *pl.* ísmawen.
- Place of former cattle-pen,* adánda.
- Dead body,* makhsúlǵ. (*Arab.*)
- Bill of bird,* ákamkōm.
- Wing,* *pl.* aferéwen.
- Feather,* tesággad; *pl.* tesággadēn.
- Nest,* úsakōk.
- Crest of cock,* arárkob wá-n-akés.
- Gills of cock,* tilághlaghēn.
- Fins of fish,* sasúngun-n-ámen; *pl.* sasúnguten-n-ámen.
- Man, husband,* ális, hális; *pl.* méden.
- People,* { ídinet.  
 { ítidim.
- Woman,* { tamtut, } *pl.* tidedén.  
 { támat, }
- Wife, partner,* hannis.
- Mongrel,* shankōt.
- Father,* { ti, shi.  
 { oba, aba.
- Mother,* amma.
- Grandfather,* tís-n-tís.
- Grandmother,* ammas-n-mas.
- Ancestor,* ámaren; *pl.* emárrawen.
- Brother,* { elder, ámakār.  
 { younger, amádaray.
- Twins,* { íknewen.  
 { imakkerésen.
- Sister,* { elder, támakart.  
 { younger, tamádarait.
- Maternal uncle,* { shitmās. (?)  
 { téshikkār.
- Paternal uncle,* { mās.  
 { angathmán.
- Sister's son,* tagéshe, tagése.
- (His) aunt,* { from father's side, ulá-  
 { temas-n-ti(s).  
 { from mother's side,  
 { ulátemas-n-ma(s).
- Elder sister of father,* támakart-n-aba.
- Cousin,* ábubásh.
- Son of aunt,* ará-n-dedén.
- Niece,* ará-n-medenét?
- Mother of family (múla el khéme),* mesis-n-éha.
- Family,* úgadish, égedesh.
- Widow (during the first three months),* támat tetáf alhuddet. (*Half Arab.*)
- Embryo,* ára.
- Child,* { róri,  
 { áliad, } *pl.* ilíaden.
- Son,* { ínek.  
 { róri, rúri.
- Boy,* { ábarad.  
 { alaróren?
- Lad (adult),* amáwad; *pl.* imáwaden.
- Daughter,* weleṭ.
- Girl,* táliad; *pl.* tilíaden.
- Full-grown (handsome girl),* tamás-roīt; *pl.* timísroiýáti.
- Old man,* ámaghār (pronounced amrār).

*Elderly woman*, támaghast.

*Orphan*, (?) } agóhíl; *pl.* ijóhelēn.  
*Heir*, }

*Son whose* { inemádas.  
*father is* { ákasay.  
*unknown*, { anákharám. (*Arab.*)  
 { anóbe.

*Grandson*, rúri-n-rúri.

*Father-in-law*, ádegal.

*Mother-in-law*, tádegalt.

*Son-in-law*, áleges.

*Daughter-in-law* (?), ahánnis.

*Brother of wife*, tilúsn.

*Brethren-in-law*, ilúsanén.

*Bridegroom*, { amázelay.  
*Young husband*, { amáselay? *Kab.*,  
 { isli.

*Bride*, temázelaít, temáselaít? *Kab.*,  
 tislit.

*Foster-brothers*, animáttaden.

*Chief*, amanókal.

*Great chief*, liege lord, amanókal  
 imakóren.

*Commander-in-chief*, amáway-n-  
 égehen.

*Great warrior, champion*, ehé-eshār;  
*pl.* wuñ eshār.

*Chief counsellor*, ú-tánhad; *pl.* mélen  
 wuñ-n-tánhad.

*Followers, party of chief*, kél-tama-  
 nókala.

*Freeman*, { amáshigh; *pl.* imóshagh,  
 { alíl; *pl.* ilíllal.

*Degraded man, serf*, úmghi; *pl.*  
 imghād (*irreg. for imghān*).

*Slave*, ákeli; *pl.* íkelān.

*Female slave*, tákelit.

*Concubine*, tawéhat; *pl.* tawéhaten.

*Son of a female slave*, rúris-n-tákelit.

*Son of a slave and a free woman*,  
 abógheli; *pl.* abóghelíte.

*Freed slave*, áderif; *pl.* idirfān.

*Son of a freed slave* (*hartāni*), ine-  
 dérfi; *pl.* inedúrfa.

*Eunuch*, agör; *pl.* igórawen.

*Countryman, man of the same tribe*,  
 hális nának (*prop. our man, the*  
*pron. accordingly to be changed*).

*Their countrymen*, halis nissen.

*Stranger, young man who goes*  
*abroad to study*, el móúza; *pl.*  
 kél \*-el-móúza.

*Guest*, ámaghár; *pl.* imágharen.

*Friend*, imidi.

*Fellow*, ámandén.

*Enemy*, eshinge; *pl.* íshinge.

*Neighbour*, ímharäg.

*Rivals*, *pl.* anírkeben.

*Learned, holy man*, aníslim.

*Scholar*, ettáli (ettálib), ettálaba.

*Herdsmen, shepherd*, ámadāu.

*Sportsman*, amahúyen; *pl.* imáhoyen.

*Townpeople*, kél-ágherim (*the final*  
*m is sometimes changed to h*).

*Boatman*, { azímsur; *pl.* azímsera.  
 { isakkayúnimo.

*Fisherman*, { á-urka. (*Surk.*)  
 { íkorungáyenan. (*Kó-*  
*rongoy.*)

*Husbandman*, anásdamu; *pl.* inís-  
 dumā.

*Smith, a man of a great variety of*  
*occupations* (mállem), énhad; *pl.*  
 ínhaden.

\* The syllable *kél*, which occurs in many of these compositions, means people, inhabitants. See Vol. I. p. 339.

*Female smith* (*mällemä*), ténhad ; *pl.* ténhaden.

*Saddler*, bámbarō.

*Shoemaker*, { way sanne ebúshege.  
way kannen ebúshege.

*Sandal-maker*, way rággeden tífe-  
délen.

imashénshit; *pl.* imíshin-  
shān.

*Merchant*, { e' Shillúkh (*prop. a Ber-*  
*ber from the North*).  
*pl.* kél-innezan.

*Retail dealer*, *pl.* efororétén.

*Broker*, amsítig.

*Traveller*, amasókal.

*Tailor*, anázennuaye.

*Weaver*, akaikay.

*Barber*, wai-zarzén.

wai essanna ássafar  
*Medical man*, { (he who knows a  
remedy).  
inéssafar.

*Drummer*, ajatítkart e' thobl.

*Horseman*, { ag-áis ; *pl.* kél-íyesan.  
ennamenne; *sing.* amnay?

*Cavalry*, ashírgish.

*A body of horsemen*, úberig.

*Footman*, ameríggish ; *pl.* immeríg-  
gisen.

*Camel rider*, ag-ámenis ; *pl.* kél-im-  
menús.

*Singing beggar*, úsahak.

*Rich man*, anésbarōgh.

*Thief*, amákarūd.

*Highway robber*, amáktas-n-abárraka,  
from ktas = *secare*, just as ktā el  
trik.

*Swindler*, arrabakherrabúkh.

*Outcast*, ark-méden.

*Whore*, { tin-ámedist.  
tin-asbakkad.  
tin-ázena. (*Half Arab*.)

*Witness*, tagóhi ; *pl.* tigóharen.

*Hostage*, údamán. (*Arab*.)

*Messenger*, anemáshal ; *pl.* inemí-  
shalen.

*A body of people*, temágelait.  
(*Great*) *army*, tábu.

*Tribe*, tausit ; *pl.* tíúsi.

*Nation*, terért.

*Pagan*, akáfar. (*Arab*.)

*Pullo*, Fullán, Afúl ; *pl.* Ifúlan.

*Songhay*, Ehet ; *pl.* Ehétane.

*Arab*, 'Arab, Gharab ; *pl.* Ghárabe.

*People of the North*, Kél-aféle.

*Kunta*, Kél-borásse.

*Berabish*, Kél-jaberíye.

*Kél-geres*, Aréwan.

*Awelimmiden wēn Bodhāl*, Dinnik.

*Gündam*, Sasáweli.

*A'rawán*, Eshíggaren.

*Head* { úkaf, éraf, éghaf.  
kárkore.

*Eye*, tēt ; *pl.* títtawén.

*Eye lid*, abíllhad.

*Eyebrows*, íleggūn.

*Eyelashes*, ínharen.

*Small hair in eyelashes*, élewen.

*The pupil*, eribbe ; *pl.* íraben.

*Eye-water*, tahéri ; *pl.* tíhérétn.

*Tears*, iméthawen.

*Corner of eye*, óreg.

*Ear*, temázug.

*Earlaps*, tilághlaghēn.

*Earhole*, téseli.

*Earwax*, téltak.

*Nostrils*, atínsherít ; *pl.* shínshar.

*Nosebone*, ánjur.



- Mouth*, ĕm.  
*Lip*, ádalöl.  
*Dimple over the lips*, ábatöl-n-ádalöl.  
*Mustachios*, améssowān.  
*Whiskers*, ikáraren.  
*Tonsils*, izíłmas.  
*Dimple*, ámadar; *pl.* imódal.  
*Grain de beauté*, áhalu.  
*(Dog tooth ?)*, taglıüмест.  
*Tooth, teeth*, ésen; *pl.* ísinen. (*Arab.*)  
*Cheek tooth*, tar-ésen.  
*Palate*, tewallakáten.  
*Gum*, { tesúkkent.  
           { tehaináwi.  
*Space between the teeth*, timeziyen.  
*Tongue*, élis.  
*Chin*, {  
*Beard*, { támart.  
*Forehead*, tímin. [dáwit.  
*Buck of the head*, takardáwit, terja-  
*Crown of head*, tekárkorit.  
*Temples*, elékalék.  
*Region near the temples*, ikíłmamák.  
*Hair of man*, tegawét.  
*Hairpad*, ábagör.  
*Grey hair*, tishóshoën.  
*Bald pate*, tétarait.  
*Curls of women's hair*, téshikkāt.  
*Neck*, erí.  
*Throat*, { akúrs.  
           { takúrsit.  
*Breast*, tigírges.  
*Nipples*, imígírgaren.  
*Female breast*, efes; *pl.* ifíffan.  
*Full female breast*, taguráffuft.  
*Heart*, úłhi.  
*Flesh of heart*, chikíten.  
*Lung*, turawén.  
*Spleen*, tíggezan.
- Liver*, amálakís.  
*Soul*, íman.  
*Breath*, únfus (*Arab. Sem.*).  
*Bowels*, tessa.  
*Stomach*, tabútut.  
*Paunch (?)*, abárköt.  
*Kidneys (?)*, aféddaren.  
*Pericardium*, tékafénkafök.  
*Navel*, tezítan.  
*Bones*, éghas; *pl.* éghasān.  
*Marrow*, adūf.  
*Nerve*, úrinmín.  
*Blood*, ásheni.  
*Veins*, ázaren.  
*Pudenda*, mul., ánábük.  
 — *fem.*, táboka.  
*Womb*, ígillān.  
*Shoulder*, tegírges; *pl.* tigírgas.  
*Arm* { upper, ákshar.  
       { lower, ánazar.  
*Flesh on arm*, nkshál.  
*Armpit*, tídirdāgh.  
*Hair of the armpits*, ámzaden-n-tí-  
       dirdāgh.  
*Elbow*, tághemirt; *pl.* tíghamār.  
*Joint of hand*, tesíndert.  
*Hand*, afūs.  
*Palm of hand*, adíke.  
*Fist*, tímzogöt.  
*Finger*, asúkkod; *pl.* ískad.  
*Thumb*, ikmésh, égemesh.  
*Forefinger*, asúkkod-n-átarak.  
*Middle finger*, síkkerit benna.  
*Little finger*, mádera benna.  
*Nail*, éskar; *pl.* ískaren.  
*Skin on nail*, téllegest; *pl.* tellégesen.  
*Back*, arúri.  
*Buckbone*, taneshrómi.  
*Ribs*, irrédishān.

<i>Haunch</i> , tásege ; <i>pl.</i> tíseguwín.	<i>Life</i> , tamúddere.
<i>Hind-quarters</i> , téz.	<i>Maturity</i> , taghad, tawad.
<i>Fat backside of woman</i> , tebúllodên.	<i>Virginity</i> , talbákkart.
<i>Fundament</i> , tágheme.	<i>Death</i> , tamántant ( <i>sic</i> , irregular).
<i>Rectum</i> , ámesi.	<i>Burial</i> , tímmitâl.
<i>Knee</i> , aföd.	<i>Agony</i> , íneshan.
<i>Fetlock-joint</i> , tagár-n-aföd.	<i>Health</i> , éssahát. ( <i>Arab.</i> )
<i>Lower part of leg</i> , } ádar.	<i>Sickness</i> , tolhínne.
<i>Foot</i> ,	<i>Fever</i> , tókos.
<i>Sole of foot</i> , itéffar.	( <i>Merár</i> ), tehánefit.
<i>Heel</i> , tauzézit.	<i>A cold</i> , tesúmde.
<i>Ankle-bone</i> , agōsh.	<i>Catarrh</i> , gobórit.
<i>Toe</i> , tinsa ; <i>pl.</i> tínsawen.	<i>Cold in the chest</i> , áhegim.
<i>Skin</i> , élim.	<i>Liver complaint</i> , ausa.
<i>Perspiration</i> , ímzellā.	<i>Itch</i> , amágheras.
<i>Dirt</i> , irda.*	<i>Swollen belly</i> , kikkar.
<i>Mucus of nose</i> , ínsherán.	<i>Diarrhæa</i> , { tókhma.
<i>Spittle</i> , tisóta.	{ tufit.
<i>Vomiting</i> , íbesan.	<i>Dysentery</i> , túghenaut.
<i>Urine</i> , áwas.	<i>Swollen eye</i> , tehádadaít.
<i>Excrements</i> , éder.	<i>Swollen face</i> , azelálam.
— of child, tarshat.	<i>Worms</i> , { aíbonen.
<i>Fart</i> , { torët.	{ íkanákanén.
{ táklharast.	{ izolítén.
<i>Sleep</i> , étis.	<i>Guinea-worm</i> , íkewen.
<i>Snoring</i> , asakhādu.	<i>Syphilis</i> , náni.
<i>Sleeping of limbs of body</i> , élbabésh.	<i>Wound</i> , ábuýís.
<i>Hunger</i> , lās. Enák aho lās, I am hungry.	<i>Fainting</i> , ákates.
<i>Thirst</i> , fūd.	<i>Medicine</i> , éssafar.
<i>Dream</i> , táhorgēt.	<i>Purge</i> , alawa.
<i>Fatigue</i> , ellíddish.	<i>Poison</i> , essim. ( <i>Arab.</i> )
<i>Exhaustion</i> , temankit.	<i>Old age</i> , tágerist ( <i>prop. winter</i> ).
<i>Hearing</i> , tísseli.	<i>Intellect</i> , tēite.
<i>Seeing</i> , áhanay.	<i>Intelligence</i> , temósne.
<i>Taste</i> , tembe (temde? yumdi, he tasted.)	<i>Knowledge</i> , úgeré.
	<i>Science</i> , tisúnet.
	<i>Anxiety</i> , terimmēgh (termágha?).
	<i>Mirth</i> , ease, tedawit.
	<i>Happiness</i> , smile, tebégisit.

\* The *d* seems to have taken the place of a *k*. Compare *irk el hál*.

*Sorrow*, anásgom.

*Meditation*, imindúden.

*Love*, tarla.

*Goodness*, tináharēn.

*Compassion*, tehanínet.

*Wrath*, átkegh.

*Bashfulness*, { *awan*.  
tekeráket.

*Shame* (*envy* ?), alrūr. (*Arab.*)

*Slight*, *insult*, tezemíten.

*Humbleness* (*shyness* ?) amagéwat.

*Tradition*, tardart (tahdart? *New-man*; teghádart, *H.B.*).

*Valour*, akfōr.

*Cowardice*, amútso.

*Word*, méggedhed, méggered.

*Voice*, amísli.

*Eloquence*, erkōd.

*Slowness of tongue*, tílist.

*Tale*, tánfost; *pl.* tinfosen.

*Gossiping*, tehadéndan.

*Business*, tahōre.

*Thing*, harret.

*Object*, tetūk.

*The multitude*, { *áyakīn*.  
tabídisht.

*Manners*, *custom*, algháda. (*Arab.*)

*Tattooing*, tegías.

*Mark by burning on arm*, tédi.

*Circumcision*, tamánkud.

*Salary*, téfertēn.

*Tribute*, téusit.

*Present*, takōt.

*Government*, temanókalen.

*Empire*, *sovereignty*, atkēl.

*Protection*, { *tigímshen*.  
tináharēn (*goodness*).

*Imána*, { *árkewel*  
álkawel. (*Arab.*)

*Peace*, el muslékh. (*Arab.*)

*Feud*, úgezár.

*Expedition*, *war*, égehen; *pl.* íg-hanēn.

*Fighting*, { *únemángh*.  
énikmás.

*Line of battle*, afōd.

*Victory*, sár-lu.

*Attack* (?), afti.

*Ransom*, { *téffedaut*. (*Half Arab.*)  
ídíyet.

*Occupation*, eshshughl. (*Arab.*)

*Trade*, essibbáb. (*Arab.*)

*Deposit*, tagaléfet.

*Profit*, alfáidet. (*Arab.*)

*Debt*, { *amáruwás* (*of goods*).  
úserdāl (*of a money loan*).

*Wealth*, *money*, éheri.

*Expense*, tettük.

*Journey*, essíkel.

*Departure in the afternoon*, tádwit.

*Promenade* (*search* ?), úmak.

*Stay*, tarémet, taghémēt. (*Arab.* ?)  
(*Terike*), takásit.

*Wedding*, úshel nedúbu.

*Play*, eddil.

*Dance*, adellül.

*Danger*, tamúttis.

*On this road there is danger*, tábarak  
tídagh éhe tamúttis.

*Clapping of hands*, tékast.

*Snapping with the fingers*, asissáarakē.

*Humming of women*, tarlállit; *pl.*  
tírlélāk.

*Great holiday*, tesúbbadár.

*Birthday of Mohammed*, úshel wa  
díwen e' nebi.

*Prayer*, amúd. (*Arab.*)

*Religious bow*, edúnket.

- Prostration*, asijet. (*Arab.*)  
*Call to prayer*, akóra.  
*Charity*, { temáséddega. (*Arab.*)  
                   { taköt (*a present*).  
*Charity on occasion of the death of*  
*a person*, tíkkefrēn.  
*God's will*, ítus Mesí-nak.  
*Divine power*, égi Mesí-nak.  
*Divine permission* (prop. *supre-*  
*macy, from irna*), tarna Mesí-nak.  
*Unity of God*, tísit.  
*Sorcery*, ashérik.  
*Charm, talisman*, tekárdi.  
*Talisman against wounds in battle*,  
                   gurūken.  
*Food*, ashékslu.  
*Breakfast*, segimgim.  
*Supper*, úmansi.  
*A drink*, tésis.  
*Dakno* (*the favourite Songhay drink*),  
                   tedaknöt.  
*Rejira* (*a drink made of cheese and*  
*dates*), aréire.  
*Common hasty pudding*, asínk, as-  
                   hínk.  
*Pudding of Indian corn*, ashínk-n-  
                   súba.  
*Boiled rice*, tárarī.  
*Rice boiled with a profusion of but-*  
*ter*, abílolō.  
*Rice boiled together with meat*,  
                   markhíé.  
*Mohamsa*, tekhammezīn. (*Half Arab.*)  
*Soup*, { aliwan.  
                   { ábid.  
*Bread* (túkelit in *Songhay*), tegílle;  
                   pl. tígilwīn.  
*Meat*, ísan.  
*Bit* (*a cut*) of meat, tamínkēt.
- Megatta*, a celebrated { taléfakét.  
                   dish of meat, { alabégge.  
*Dried meat*, ísan yekór.  
*White fat*, tádhont.  
*Broth*, esín.  
*Honey*, túraut.  
*Milk*, akh.  
*All sorts of milk*, ékhawen.  
*Sweet milk*, akh wá kafayen.  
*Scum of milk*, takāft.  
*Cream*, áfarār.  
*Sour milk*, silla.  
*Very sour milk*, esillay ísymmen.  
*Sour milk mixed with water*, akrai-  
                   hème.  
*Curds*, { ástentēn.  
                   { áboshit.  
*Butter*, údi.  
*Fresh butter*, tésedūt.  
*Cheese*, chikómaren.  
*Vegetable butter*, bulánga.  
*Salt*, tésemīt.  
*Salt incrustation*, ahárrar.  
*Pepper*, íjekembē.  
*Black pepper*, íli.  
*Cayenne pepper* (zózet e' *sherk*), ti-  
                   shúshatēn.  
*Kamūn*, akāmil.  
*Sweetmeats*, tasódin.  
*Kola nut*, étafat goro.  
*Tobacco*, túba.  
*Snuff*, ísarak.  
*Kohol*, tazólt temellelt.  
*Cotton strips* (tári), tábeduk.  
*Benige* (*one strip of a shirt*), tásuwit;  
                   pl. tísuwat.  
*Dress*, ísilse.  
*Small shirt*, rishāba.  
*Small white shirt*, rishāba emellen.







*Pounder*, áshakal.

*Cooking-place*, ésid.

*Stones for cooking*, ihankarayen.

*Coalpan*, féma.

*Cooking-pot*, telékkenit.

*Water-pot for making the ablution before prayer*, ebēn wá-n-el walla.

*Water-bottle (of gourd)*, ákasís.

*Water-skin*, { édid.  
tasúferit.

*Skin for victuals*, anwar.

- for *sour milk*, tanwart.

- for *butter*, tarassulúmet.

- for *luggage*, { ágerik  
tebawent.

*Small skin*, tamshit.

*Purse, bag*, ábelböt.

*Bag with a separate bottom*, teshélbakás.

*Dish*, akús.

*Drinking vessel*, { takúst.  
terazüt.  
árájüt. (Avel.)

*Copper cup*, { tíkeröast.  
terért-n-darūr.  
temánnas.

*Wooden vessel covered with leather for containing butter*, teságenit.

*Bucket*, agē, ája.

*Large dish, watering trough*, azáwa;  
pl. izáwatan.

*Funnel*, asiggefi.

*Spoon*, tasókalt.

*Drinking spoon*, asílko.

*Large stirring spoon*, asérwi.

*Forked stick for stirring the sour milk*, efaránfar.

*Pole for suspending the skins of milk*, tasískart.

*Plaited dish of straw (tebek)*, tísit.

*Basket*, faránfo.

*Suntye, large basket*, tasówanīt.

*Large vessel for honey*, faránfarō.

*Wax candle*, tabórit-n-táfetelt.

*Leather tent*, éhé \*; pl. ehénman.

*New leather tent*, éhé naina.

*Leather tent, worn*, éhé kít.

*Middle pole*, temankait; pl. temánkayen.

*The smaller poles on the two sides*, tigittewēn.

*Rope passing over the poles*, áharak.

*Double cord*, téronin-n-áhak.

*Forked pole*, { afísk,  
aserámserám.

*Interior of tent*, búgu.

*Exterior of tent*, kekke.

*Awéba*, teshéhat.

*A particular space of the tent called gherára*, tágharīt.

*Tent of cotton*, éhé mellen.

*Tent pole*, ágīt; pl. ígetān.

*Village of tents, encampment (rehála)*, ámazagh; pl. imézaghen.

*Place of former encampment*, tímshagh.

*Hurdle* { of *ca*  
of *sheep*, áfarak-n-ulli.

*Place of pasturage*, ámadöl.

*House*, tárashām; pl. tárishmēn.

*Courtyard*, ammas-n-éhé.

*Upper room*, tikróríen.

\* This word is mentioned by E/bn Haúkál in the tenth century, as meaning a Berber encampment. Journ. Asiat., 1842, vol. i. p. 40.



*Staircase*, { íbtalen-n-sorō.  
{ isíwiwan-n-sorō.

*Terrace*, afélle-n-tárashāmt.

*Ceiling*, iwursákka.

*Store room*, teshka.\*

*Watercloset*, idér-n-aha.

*Wall of courtyard*, arülle.

*Door*, tífáwat; *pl.* tífalwáten.

*Window*, inabúgen tárashāmt.

*Hut*, éhé; *pl.* ehénnan.

*Hamlet* (ádabay), tádabay.

*Town*, ágherim; *pl.* íghirmān.

*Town wall*, ághadör.

*Street* (tíjerit; *pl.* tíjeráten), te-sharröt.

*Market*, éwuit.

*Shop* (tenda), bugō; *pl.* bugóten.

*Mosque*, tamizgída.

*Nave of mosque*, ássaf; *pl.* ássafen.

*Tower of mosque*, sorō-n-tamizgída.

*Place of meeting*, réme-n-méden.

*Tomb*, ásíkkē (azikke, *Kabail*).

*Place*, diháal (?).

*Region*, eljihálet.

*Angle*, { terámmert.  
{ tidínnekt; *pl.* tidínnek.

*Cowry*, tamgellít; *pl.* tíngel.

*Caravan* (akabár; *pl.* ákwabír),  
térrekeft (rékeba); *pl.* ikéberān.

*Provisions*, ázad. (*Arab*.)

*Luggage*, ílalā.

*Merchandise*, áshed. (?)

*Packet*, ghadíle.

*Calico* (shigge), masr.

*Figured cotton*, talazíggi (*formed from the word shigge*).

*Silk*, el kharír. (*Arab*.)

*Atlas*, birribírri.

*Swordcord* (el hamílo), el mejdúl.  
(*Arab*.)

*Red cloth*, elbūsh.

*Cotton*, takerókerit.

*Bullock's leather*, erēd.

*Spices*, adúwa zéden.

*Elghálie*, tíltek.

*Beads*, timarrowáni.

*Red beads*, sarēr.

*Amber*, timistúkatēn.

*Iron*, tazóli.

*Sound of iron*, temsárákat.

*Silver*, ázeref.

*Gold*, úragh.

*Copper*, darúgh.

*Lead*, tezáwaten.

*Solder* (tezemímet), ahellūn.

*Iron-thread*, íтали.

*Ivory, tusk of elephant*, teshálat-n-élu.

*Ostrich feathers*, tesággadēn-n-én-nehe.

*Gum*, tainúst.

*Wax*, ékese.

*Price*, ēm.

*Yard*, agél (aghel? *arm*?)

*Fathom*, tíhid. *A measure of four fathoms*, akūs út-hid.

*A mouthful*, télnak.

*A quantity that may be taken by two fingers*, takedímmít.

*A handful*, tagebúzzít.

*What may be grasped by an outspread hand*, tébart.

*What may be grasped by both hands*, íbsuten.

A station on the road to Aúdaghost was called by this name. El Bekrí, p. 157.

يقال له نازقي و تفسيره البيت  
Compare Capt. Lyon's Travels, p. 315.—II. B.

# THE STORY OF THE PRODIGAL SON IN TEMASHIGHT.

(Luke, xv. 11.)

Tánfost: A'liad *enne* mákhshaṭ n éhëri.

Tale: The youth who (was) wasteful of substance.

11. Kalay illen awādem íyen ilarōris, ile essIn ilíaden.  
Once was a man one having children, having two youths.
12. Inne aw entukke n dersen y obannis: Ikfāhi *adegger*-eni  
Said the younger of them to his father: Give me my portion (?)  
dare éhëri *wa* n nek. Yenker tēsan, yezon gerūs-an  
of the substance *which* (is) thine. Arose their sire, weighed out between them  
eherinnis. 13. Har darretūdi s eshílan madróini, yenker áliad  
his substance. Until afterwards in days a few, arose son  
ennin, yessinte cherinnis ikétenes isókal yikka ákal  
younger (?) gathered (?) his substance all of it, returned passed (to) land  
íyen ogúgen; yeķim dars; ekhsheṭ eherinnis ger tídedēn. 14.  
one distant; dwelt in it; wasted his substance among women.  
Darret ákhashaṭ-n-eherinnis, azūet tetūk egel ghalle  
After the wasting of his substance, a heavy thing bread (?) dearth  
dar ákal ídagħ: eblūs harret. 15. Enker yikka hālis íyen,  
in land that: failed? to him a thing. He arose passed (to) man one,  
isúfure imannis ghōris dar ágherim ídagħ: hak irdēmās  
hired himself to him in district that: he took? sent? him (to)  
shekārúsh enis, edānas immēnās enis. 16. Hūn *tūlis oles*  
field of him, he fed for him his camels. But again?  
war iksha, asal ūlan-n-elishkan wuidagh tāten immēnās. 17.  
he ate not, save leaves of bushes which eat camels.
- Enta isíggëre dar imannis, inne ye imannis: Nek, obāni  
He contemplated in his soul, said to his soul: As for me, my father  
illē 'klan agōteni; erētusé daghsen ila wa ikshe: hun  
(is) having servants many; each of them having what he eats: but  
nek amarādagh enákahē lās; behāhē harret (or igafélli  
I now kills me famine; fails(?) to me a thing.

13. *Tidedēn*, women, may seem to mean יָדָה, "loves," as *deden*, verse 30.

14. *Teyēlet*, is a loaf: *qu. egel*, bread? *Ibha*, deficit; elsewhere, fallit.

17. *Amarādagh*, or *amar adagh* of vv. 18, 19, 21. seems to be = *imir enni* of Kab.  
"that time," or, "this time."

- khör ez zémen). 18. Amarádagh, tátüragh denkar(agh) geligh  
 Instantly I will seek (that I) arise, I go  
 gher obānin(i), ahas innēgh: Obāni, nek egēgh irk harret  
 towards my father, I may to him say: My father, I have done evil thing  
 gērit Mesínak gērit ke. 19. Nek war issimmemúhalagh damūsagh  
 between? our God, between thee. I not am worthy I be called  
 áliad innekk. Amarádagh! ágähe ghas dar ikēlānnak. 20. Hun  
 son of thee. Now! make me only in thy servants. But  
 inker, óse as obānis. Obānis yenhēt har agūde yugíg;  
 he arose, came to(?) his father. His father saw him until very far;  
 egas tehaninet ghas; yúshel sirs ghas; yūdar fel erinnis,  
 made for him mercy only; hastened upon him only; fell upon his neck,  
 \*ahās i-timullut. 21. Hun innas rōris: Obāni, hun nek  
 that to him he-may kiss? But said to him his child: My father. but I  
 egēgh irk-n-harret gerit Mesínak ed ke dar tulís. Hun  
 have done evil of thing between our God and thee in repetition. But  
 amarádagh nek war issimmúhālagh damūsagh áliad innak: aṭafāhi,  
 now I not am worthy I be called son of thee: take me,  
 udef ijēl ikēlānnak. 22. Inne tis y ikēlannis: Ahauyet  
 (like one of?) thy servants. Said his-sire to his servants: Ho! bring-ye  
 tekatkāt tehōsken, selsem-as-tet; tauyem tūthod  
 a robe beautiful, ye have clad to him it; Ye have brought a ring  
 tehōsken, tegem-as-tet degħ asukkot enis; tejImas  
 beautiful, ye-have-made-to-him-it on finger of him; ye-have-made-to-him  
 búshēgan ilōskatnēn degħ ítēfrannis. 23. Et wuayamas  
 shoes beautiful on feet of him. Ye have brought for him  
 áhēdel eddērín tághērésāmás, tekénfāmás, adenekshít  
 calf fat (that) ye butcher for him, ye roast for him, (that) we eat it  
 nēllewat. 24. Māshān rōri yemmūt, tulís alōne: úbat,  
 (and) be merry. Because my child was dead, again (is) alive? he was lost,  
 nōlis tehānait. Entenet illewen imanassen. 25. Ewa  
 we have repeated a finding. They rejoiced their soul. He who (was)  
 amakár ennis ilhe shickārash-n-issen ekānneten, har iggel  
 the elder (son) of him fields of them to work them until he went  
 he made them?  
 éhennis, har ennēhaz éhé n tis, ísle amísli n  
 (to) his tent, until he approached tent of his-sire, he heard a hearing of  
 tesínsan d araníb de tókhast. 26. Eghāre íyen dar ikēlan,  
 cymbals? and timbrels? and dancing? He called one of the servants,  
 isísten-t, innas: Wūdagh mamūs? 27. Innas úkēli:  
 asked-him said to him: This what-is-it? Said to him the servant:

19. *Damūsagh* = *ad-amūs'agh*. The root *amus* seems to represent *ism*, (name) of Arabic, which is also used as substantive.

\* 20. Or, *ahaz itimullut*, he approached for the kiss. *Timullut* is a substantive elsewhere.

Amadarainek adosenit tik; tik egherisas  
 Thy younger (brother) arrives (to) thy sire; thy sire has-butchered-for him  
 áhëdel iddërin, fel amōye n amōkes enis, en tadro enis  
 calf fat upon cause(?) of meeting of him, of receiving (?) of him  
 sel-rafiēt. 28. Iggish atkar [atkahh] amakúr enis, yunge  
 in safety. Entered anger elder (brother) of him, he refused(?)

adíggesh éhé n tis. Igmāt obánnis éhennis,  
 he should enter tont of his-sire. Came-out his father (from) his tent,

erārit. 29. Isókalas méghëred, inne ye obannis: Enhe,  
 entreated(?) him. He returned to him harangue, he said to his father: See,

legħ aütian agóteni nek kħadámaghak: kälā war ikħshe agħ  
 I am(?) years many I have served thee: once-not I have wasted  
 these(?)

ulhi n nek: hun kay kalá war tikfāhi 'shel iyen tagħat íyet,  
 heart of thee: but thou once not givest me day one she-goat one

sagarrassagh, hanagh-teslawit, nek d imidúweni.  
 I caused to butcher, (that) thou to us cause to rejoice, me and my friends.

30. Hun áliad innēk wādagħ, awayikhshet, éhëri-n-nek ikétënes  
 But son of thee this, who wasted substance of thee all of it

ger dëden, tézar íkal, tegħarassas áhëdel  
 among loves(?), the afternoon he came, thou hast butchered for him calf

eddërin. 31. Innas tis: Ke tekēme derí sedës-en(i)  
 fat. Said to him his sire: Thou dwellest with me at side of me

harkūk; eherí ni ikétënes eherí-n-nek. 32. Mūshān  
 always; my substance all of it (is) thy substance. Because

essímmemëhél ahas-nigge tarha-n-nis asemusínten fel  
 it is worthy (that) to him we make joy of him because from? upon

tamūsne innit enta amadaray-innek wa indúrren yamūt  
 the-name of-this-that he thy-younger (brother) the little (one) was dead

tūlís idar; abaṭ, nenhēt.

again lives; was lost, we have found him.

## APPENDIX V.

## EL BAKÁ'Y'S LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION.

TRANSLATED BY DR. NICHOLSON.

IN a preface in rhymed prose, Ah'med el Bakáy, having enumerated ten generations of his ancestors, addresses his letter to all into whose hands it should fall, of his brethren and friends among the Arabs, the Tawárek, the Fullán, and the Sudán, in the land of El Islám, and especially in the land of A'la Fódíye, the noblest of the sons of 'Abdallah and 'Othmán the Imám, among whom the Imám 'Alí ben Mohammed Bello is distinguished: next, to those in the land of the faithful and humane, his brethren of the people of Bórnu, and especially their excellent Sheikh 'Omár: and lastly, to all Moslims in the land. He then enters on his subject of recommending to them the Christian traveller in the following terms:

“ Our and your guest, 'Abd el Kerím Barth, the English Christian, has visited us from your part, and we honoured him suitably, and were not wanting to him in anything, and befriended him openly and privately, and defended him from nomadic wanderers and settlers, until we restored him to you in safety, just as he came from you in respect. Now there is no fault to find with our present reception of him, nor with your treatment of him in time past; for the guest of the munificent is munificently treated, and injury to the good is forbidden; and it is the nature of the good and pure to be helpful, just as malice is the disposition of the wicked; and kind acts and intentions are acceptable both to men and to God. But you require to be urgently admonished to treat our and your guest with honour, beneficence, and equity.

And do not be deluded by those who say, 'Behold, he is a Christian! let no kindness be shown to him! let it be counted acceptable to God to hurt him!' For such sentiments are contrary to the Kurán and the Sunna, and are repudiated by men of intelligence. It is written, 'God does not forbid your showing kindness and equity to those who do not wage war with you on account of your religion, nor expel you from your abodes, for God loves the equitable.'\* And God says (in reply to those who say 'we are not bound to deal equitably with the heathen,')—'Nay: with whoever is faithful to his pledges, and fears God, for God loves those that fear him.'† And we have heard from the saints about the dispositions of the prophets, and their inculcation of beneficence to all men. The Prophet used to say, 'Whenever honourable persons come to you, receive them with honour!' and he used to show respect to all that came to him, whether they were Moslims, or Kitábīs ‡, or infidels. And he gave injunctions concerning those among them who were on terms of compact, and those who were on terms of tribute; so that he said: 'Whoever kills a companion §, shall not smell the odour of Paradise; and its odour can be perceived at a distance of 500 years' journey.' And his forefather, Abraham, was kind to everybody, so that God mentions him in his book with reference to his generous conduct to guests, and extols his mildness in his altercation with the angels sent on account of the unbelievers; for he says,—'He disputed with us about the people of Lot; lo, Abraham is humane!'|| And an embassy from the Christians of Najrán came to the Prophet, and he received them with honour, and did them justice, as it was his disposition and his custom to do; then he made a treaty with them on terms of tribute, and did not molest them or their religion after he had invited them to accept El

\* Sur. ix. 9.

† Sur. iii. 69.

‡ i. e. People of the Book, Jews or Christians.

§ معاشر

|| Sur. xi. 77.

Islám, and they had received his missives: and he kept faith with them. This, too, was the way he treated the Jews of Medína, before he went to war with them. Thus God says: 'Thou wilt not cease to discover deceivers among them, with few exceptions; but forgive them, and pardon them, for God loves the beneficent!'<sup>\*</sup> And they used to salute him by saying, '*Assilám úlaika!*'<sup>†</sup> with Kesra of the Sín; but he used to make no other answer but 'And on you!' At last 'Aísha observed it, and reproached them, and cursed them; but he reproved her. So she said, 'Did you not hear what they said?' And he replied, 'But did not you hear how I returned their salutation? Now, what I wished them will be granted, but what they wished me will not be granted!' And it was only as respects the enemies of God—persons fighting against God and his Prophet, and waging war with the adherents of El Islám for the sake of their religion—that the Prophet forbids what he forbade as to this mode of treatment. The injunction with regard to such is what God says: 'O Prophet, persecute the unbelievers and hypocrites, and be severe with them!'<sup>‡</sup> Thus every believer has a special statute. There came to me, one day, a man of the Fullán, of the Fullán of the West, who pretended to be learned, but who had no learning, who said to me, 'Does not God say, "You will not find any people who believe in God and the last day, loving those who resist God and his Prophet,"<sup>§</sup> (and the rest of that verse), and yet you love this Christian unbeliever?' I replied, 'Do not you, too, obey this other word of God? "God does not forbid you to show kindness and equity to those who have not borne arms against you on account of religion, and have not expelled you from your dwellings, for God loves those that deal justly; God only forbids your

<sup>\*</sup> Sur. v. 16.

<sup>†</sup> The name of some bitter tree. This story is told in Mishkât el Masâbih, vol. ii. 394.; but *assâm* (*destruction*) is the word there used.

<sup>‡</sup> Sur. ix. 74.

<sup>§</sup> Sur. lviii. 22.

being friends with those who bore arms against you for the sake of religion, and who expelled you from your abode, or who aided in expelling you."\* Then he held his tongue. So I said to him, 'Speak! do you think that one of these verses abrogates the other? If so, you lie, and are made a liar. Or, do you think that one is contradictory to the other, and that the contradiction is in the mind of God? If so, you are a fool, and are made a fool of, and lead astray, and are led astray. Or do you believe a part of the book and disbelieve a part? If so, you are one of those of whom it is said, "Do ye believe one part of the book and disbelieve the other?"† If so, you are an unbeliever, crying out against unbelief.' Then he asked me to explain to him. So I said, 'Let it suffice you as to this mystery and difficulty, that your head is sprinkled with grey, but that you are ignorant of the book of your Lord which has been revealed to you, and about the Sunna of your Prophet. For the ordinance about the hostile unbeliever‡, and the unbeliever who is not hostile, is well known in the book and in the Sunna. As for the unbeliever who is not hostile, there is no prohibition to treat him kindly; whereas to deal justly with him is a positive duty. As for the hostile one, nothing is said about his being treated with kindness, therefore kindness to him is not expressly enjoined; but God has only prohibited friendship with him in preference to Moslims, or helping him against Moslims. But kindness and equity towards an unbeliever who is not hostile, is manifestly lawful; whereas friendship with a hostile unbeliever is expressly unlawful, and kindness and equity towards him are among doubtful duties; and the unbelievers who are hostile, or hinderers, or contumacious, belong to one class, and are subject to one ordinance; and with such, affection—whatever belongs to intimate friendship—is forbidden. This is the law with regard to unbelievers. As for Kitábis,

\* Sur. lx. 8.

† Sur. ii. 79.

‡ مُكَارِبٌ



they are under special laws, whether they be hostile, or under covenant of peace, or under tribute. We may marry the women of the Kitábīs of any description. Now, if any one asserts that it is not lawful to show kindness to a Kitábi, let him tell me what he would do with a Kitábi wife, seeing that God has commanded us to treat our wives with kindness and beneficence, and the prophet has enjoined it. Therefore, if this were true with regard to the Kitábi wife of a Moslim, there would absolutely be no difference, but that of sex, between her, and her father, and brothers: so that whatever kindness and beneficence are due to his wife, the daughter of his connections by marriage, are undoubtedly due to those connections themselves. And the Emír of Másiná the Fuláni spoke to me both ignorantly and inhumanely about this Englishman, and insisted on absurd and frivolous postulates. And he—nay, his doctors, without learning, piety, or religion—adduced as evidence certain verses from the book of God, which were revealed about hypocrites, about ‘Abdallah ben Obbai E’bn Salúl\* and his compeers; and they disgraced themselves by the display of their ignorance of the Kurán and Sunna. Nay, they could not adduce a single word out of the Sunna, nor a sentence from the Canon Law†, which is their learning, notwithstanding their ignorance of it! Since they did not find either in the Sunna or Canon Law anything that agrees with their aims, but only what is merely contrary to them, they had recourse to the Kurán, and they perverted it violently, iniquitously, ignorantly, carelessly, derisively, and sportively. But woe to them for what their hands have written; and woe to them for the reward they will reap! Among what I said to them was this:—If what you aim at were a part of the Mohammedan religion either theoretically or practically, I would have outrun you in receiving it; and Khakl ben ‘Abdallah, and ‘Othmán ben Mohammed Bello, the two descendants of Fódíye, would have

\* This is a noted personage in the Kurán.

† النِّقَاحُ

outrun you. Nay, the great Sultan, our lord 'Abd e' Rahmán, the son of your lord, Hishám, and the Khakán of the two lands and seas, the Sultan 'Abd el Mejíd, the son of the Sultan Mahmúd, the son of the Sultan 'Abd el Hamíd, would have anticipated you. As for your postulate \*, that you have inherited the duty of doing battle with the infidels, and of hating them, from the time of our fathers and grandfathers, we are more nearly related to them than you; for you have no ancestry in it, since you have only adopted your present opinions about thirty years ago; and a man only inherits from his father and grandfather. Whose guest is this Christian? And again, in whose alliance and safe-conduct is this Christian? He is the guest and protégé of the Sultan of the Faithful, 'Abd el Mejíd, and of the Imám of the Moslims, our lord 'Abd e' Rahmán. Lo, he inherited the duty of warring with the infidels from his fathers and grandfathers; and he possesses his religion from the earliest of the fathers, from the time of the prophets. But as for the people of Núkkuma †, they have neither religion, nor learning, nor understanding, nor humanity. What then gives them any superiority or pre-eminence over those eminent persons, seeing that they are the tail of mankind, living in the tail of the world, and that, up to this date, the invitation of the Sunna and of indispensable duties ‡ has not reached them? But there is no need to dilate on what they say in their perversity, nor on what is said to them in disputation. The main thing is, that you should know, oh! you body of believers! that God has sent us prophets with His book and His ordinances, and has elucidated them, and made them plain; and that whoever wishes to add to them in what He has enjoined, is accursed and cast

\* That is, *main principle* on which you base your wish to hurt a Christian; or it means *pretence*.

† That is, the Fúlbe of Másina. About Núkkuma, or Nákuma, see the note, Vol. V., p. 517.

‡ الفرض

out; and whoever diminishes aught therefrom, is condemned and punished. Therefore treat the Moslim according to the treatment ordered for him in the Book of God and in the Sunna of the Prophet, whether the Moslem be an upright or a careless one; treat the Kitábís as they are to be treated, whether they be hostile, or under compact, or under tribute; and treat the Infidel generally as he is to be treated, whether he be hostile or not hostile: 'For all are His servants; His will is irresistible by them; His ordinance sticks close to them; His knowledge comprehends them.'\* Whoever treats these different classes with any other treatment than what He has appointed, errs in his judgment, and is wicked. And this Christian is to-day the guest of the Moslims, under their protection, their covenant, and safe-conduct. No Moslim can lawfully hurt him. On the contrary, to injure him is a burning shame. Nay, he has the rights of a guest; for the guest of the munificent is munificently treated; and every believer is munificent, and every hypocrite is sordid. And does that munificence which is not imprinted in the disposition, make a believer? The recompense of kindness is by kindness, in imitation of the character of the merciful Lord. God says, 'Is there any recompense of kindness except kindness?''\* And behold, this man's nation, the English, have done us services which are neither doubted nor denied: which are their friendship to our brethren the Moslims, and their sincerity to them, and their cordiality with them, and their helpfulness to our two Sultans, 'Abd e' Rahmán and 'Abd el Mejíd. This is publicly known and acknowledged about the English. It is, therefore, our right and duty to show gratitude for their kindness, and to strengthen whatever covenant and confidence there is between us and them. And I particularly apply this to you, my brethren!

\* This passage rhymes in the original, and seems to be quoted from some familiar source; but it is not in the Kurán.

† Sur. lv. 60.

Therefore, whoever belongs to the jurisdiction of our Tawárek, the people of Karidéne, the kingdom of Alkúttabu ben Kawa ben Imma ben Ig e' Sheikh ben Karidéne; and then whoever is behind them of my companions and friends, Dinnik, the kingdom of my brother, and nephew, and pupil, Músa ben Bodhál ben Katim\*; then those behind them of our partisans the people of Air, the Kél-gerés and the Kél-owí; then our darlings, A'la Fódíye, their learned men, the intelligent and humane, who have the ordinances and the right of decision, on them be my salutation and el Islám! the people of the Imám, the high-minded, the son of Bello, the Imám ben 'Othmán, the perfect. For, lo! my guest is a guest of theirs, who has nothing to fear among them, since they profess obedience to God†, and know that He protects the ordinances. And especially as their lord, the Imám Mohammed Bello—God favour him!—said to me, and wrote to me, with his own hand, that he and his kingdom were at my disposal so long as it was strung on his string‡; therefore I have authority, and I admonish you about my and your guest, indeed about whatever Englishman shall come after him, whether he come to me, or pass near you, or abide among you for a time and then return. And what I demand and charge you, the same injunction I lay on my brethren (though I have not seen them with my eyes, I have seen them by my faith, and I count kindred with them by the ties of religion), the people of Bórnu, especially the Sheikh 'Omár ben Mohammed the Emír, the Just. Then let not that which is dreaded hinder you!§ Lo, he is a distinguished man among the Christians. || However there are between us and them such pro-

\* See about the Dinnik, p. 562.

† ما انتظم في بلكه ‡ ناسبهم بنسب رحمانى

§ i. e. Be not deterred by fear.

انه عين للنصارى

tectors of El Islám, and champions\* of the peoples (the Christians), that if they break through them to get at us, and attack us, there is no good of life, and no sufficiency in a host. But God is our reliance: surely He outwits every deceiver, betrays every traitor, and makes every unbeliever a liar. For He says, in his book, to us, and to his Prophet, 'God is your stay, and those of the believers that follow you.'† 'If they try to deceive you, then God is your support. It is He that has strengthened you with His help, and with the faithful, and has united their hearts.‡ It is, then, by the religion of God that we are exalted, and are victorious. Religion is weak only through its professors§. The blessing of the Book of God, and the blessing of his Prophet, be on us and with us! So let not fear seize any Moslim that they should deceive him and cheat him, on the ground that there is rebellion against the cause of God among them, and that the Sunna of His Prophet is violated among them. And whatever there is of slaughter and battle with him, let him suppress it for its day; for the weakest of men in sense, and the mightiest of them in ignorance, is he who rushes to evil when its season has not come, and who is no match for it on the day when it arrives. And as for me, brethren! I have written for the Englishman specially a general safe-conduct, in which I have included every one in my land, and have added thereto your land, in reliance on your religion and your sure conviction, and in dependence on your intelligence and humanity. Do you then write for him as I have written, on the condition of our being subject to our Imám, our Lord, 'Abd e' Rahmán, and our Sultan, 'Abd el Mejíd; and be not like the people of Núkkuma, for they are like the deaf and dumb, since they are offensive to me. Lo, I love my guest the Christian! Be

\* El Bakáy means the Emperor of Morocco and the Sultan.

† Sur. viii. 65.

‡ Sur. viii. 64.

فَإِنَّ نَعَفَ الدِّينِ مِنْ أَهْلِهِ §

careful that he be not hindered in anything; for the Prophet used to love the Kuraish in spite of their unbelief in him and their hostility to him. God says, 'There has come to you a Prophet from yourselves; grievous to him is your wickedness; he is anxious about you.'\* And he said to him, 'Thou wilt not direct whomsoever thou lovest.'† And he used to love his uncles, and to delight in their conversion to El Islám, especially A'bú Táleb; except that he knew the decrees of God about the community, and was liable to them together with the community. The most ignorant of men is he who is ignorant of the Book of his Lord and the Sunna of his Prophet, so that he licenses for himself what is unlawful, and forbids what is lawful, and draws near to Him with that which removes him to a distance from Him, and keeps aloof from that which brings him near to Him; who fancies that he does well as to his actions, while he does evil as to what is enjoined. God is not worshipped by any act (or rite) but what he has ordered, and is not approached by a worshipper that he should remit anything but what is remitted. Now salutation is what is reiterated to you, and honour is what is wished to you! Farewell!

\* Sur. ix. 129.

† Sur. xxviii. 56.

## APPENDIX VI.

CHIEF TOWNS AND RESIDENCES OF THE INDEPENDENT  
SONGHAY, BETWEEN THE NIGER AND MY ROUTE BY  
YÁGHIA AND LIBTÁKO.

KÚLMAN, a large place, the name of which has already become known in Europe through the information of other travellers, in consequence of its great importance as a well inhabited and strong town, as also as a frequented market. The chief part of the inhabitants belong to the tribe of the Kóizé, with the chief (koy) Foní, the son of A'rkosú (A'rkosú ize), or, as the Tawárek call him, ag A'rkosú. It may now be laid down in the map with tolerable accuracy, being said to be distant from Tongi (see p. 245.) thirty miles to the west.

Téra, the town mentioned already by A'hmed Bába, said to be even larger than Kúلمان, and the very largest of the ksúr of the free Songhay, equalling the city of Timbúktu in size, four days from Tongi S.W., two from Dóre E.N.E. The inhabitants wear their hair in long tresses, and possess a good many horses; they are totally independent.

Darghol, residence of the Songhay princes, the descendants of the A'skiá, or Síkkíá, the chief of whom, at the present day, is koy Kálmia; the inhabitants very warlike, armed with shield, spear, and sword, like the Tawárek. But the energy of these Songhay is counterpoised and baffled by the disunion which prevails among themselves, the inhabitants of Darghol waging war with those of Téra, who do not acknow-

ledge their supremacy. The position of this important town, I am sorry to say, I am not able to determine even approximately. It is very desirable that a European traveller should explore this whole region.

The most important of the other towns of the Songhay are:—

Kósa.

Tákala, ruled by Hawa, a woman. Even in Timbúktu, before the conquest of the town by the Fúlbe, a woman is said to have exercised the chief influence.

Dorógun.

Kánseka-koira, } both called after their chiefs.  
Bókar-koira, }

Kúrchi, with the chief, Hemma.

Tézi.

Góroshí.

Karta.

Kákaru, or Bámbelokoire, called from the chief, Bámbelo; a powerful community, dominating the neighbouring towns and villages.

Bangúm.

Kérégu.

Fómbiten, with the chief, Hamma Fómbit.

Kánfulí.

Hammakoire.

Syrbi. •

Larba, the town mentioned in the preceding volume, said to be as large as Say, with which and Támkala it was intimately allied at the time of the rising of the Reformer 'Othmán, and offered the most determined resistance.

Sífaða.

Bargúl.

Kasánni.

Alikónchi.



Garubánda.  
Kongozekoire.  
Wozebángo.  
Sátumen.  
Wósolo.  
Badduléji.  
Barrobónghala.  
Kalobánda.

## APPENDIX VII.

## FRAGMENTS OF A METEOROLOGICAL REGISTER.

Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.	Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.
1854. Jan.				1854 Jan.			
1	- -	-	Cold.				
2	sunrise	62.2					tance. Towards evening heat
	2 p.m.	88.5					lightning; only a
3	sunrise	61	Clear sky.				few drops of rain
	1.30 p.m.	87.5					after midnight.
4	sunrise	66	Sky overcast; cleared up towards sunset.	16	- -	-	Cold wind.
				17	- -	-	No observation.
5	sunrise	60	Clear sky; cold.	18	- -	-	Tolerably cold. Sky somewhat clearer.
	sunset	77.5		19	sunrise	60	
6	- -	-	Clear sky; cold.		sunset	76	
	sunset	77.5		20	- -	-	
7	sunrise	59.5			2 p.m.	66	Sky overcast; very cold and cheerless.
	2 p.m.	85					2.30 p.m. a few drops of rain.
	sunset	87			sunset	62	
8	sunrise	61.5	A fine day. Both these days warmer at sunset than in the afternoon.		sunrise	51	
				21	2.30 p.m.	77	Sky clear.
	2 p.m.	75			sunset	69	
	sunset	77.5		22	sunrise	48	Sky clear. (Broke this day in reality my last thermometer.)
9	2 p.m.	85	Sky overcast.				
10	sunrise	64					
11	sunrise	64		23	- -	-	Clear.
	2 p.m.	85		24	- -	-	Tolerably clear.
	sunset	80		25	- -	-	Fine day. Morning delightful.
12	sunrise	66					Morning clear.
13	sunrise	55	Very cold day.	26	- -	-	Forenoon not quite clear.
14	- -	-	Not quite so cold.	27	- -	-	No observation.
15	- -	-	Sky overcast in the morning; about noon clearer, then again overcast; thunder in the dis-	28	- -	-	Cold and windy.
				29	- -	-	Clear and cold.
				30	- -	-	Clear.
				31	- -	-	Clear.

Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.	Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.
1854. Feb. 1	-	-	-	1854. Feb. 21	-	-	-
			Not quite clear. In this month very few particular observations, but in general the mornings proved colder than those in January.				Sky overcast with clouds, a dropping continued during the whole of the morning. At 8½ in the evening moderate rain. A more regular rain at 11 o'clock, lasting till 1 o'clock. After midnight, followed by a heavy tornado.
March	-	-	-				
			In the first days of March a very heavy gale in the forenoon.				
3	-	-	-	22	-	-	-
			In the morning clear, then overcast.				The dropping continued in the morning. Sky thickly overcast, drops of rain falling now and then.
4	-	-	-				
5	-	-	-				
6	-	-	-				
			Clear morning.	23	-	-	-
			Heavy northerly gale the whole day long, carrying much sand.	24	-	-	-
7	-	-	-	25	-	-	-
8	-	-	-				
9	-	-	-				
10	-	-	-				
			Clear.				A warm sunny day.
			Clear.				Dull sky.
			Sky not clear.				The sky the greater part of the day overcast; towards evening a little sunshine. About 11 o'clock at night some dropping.
			Overcast; the sun scarcely ever came forth. A few drops of rain.				
11	-	-	-				
12	-	-	-	26	-	-	-
			Overcast.				Sky dull; some dropping the whole of the day. About 11 o'clock at night a regular rain began to fall, lasting till about 2 o'clock in the morning.
			Windy, not clear. Heavy gale during the night.				
13	-	-	-				
			Cloudy. In the course of the day a very heavy gale arose.	27	-	-	-
14	-	-	-				
			Overcast; no wind; evening clear.				Dull and cool; dropping continued the whole day long, and dark clouds had been collecting about noon; a regular rain set
15	-	-	-				
16	-	-	-				
			Clear.				
			Clear in the forenoon, then dull.				
17	-	-	-				
18	-	-	-				
19	-	-	-				
			Overcast.				
			Clear.				
			In the afternoon sky dull.				
20	-	-	-				
			Sky clear in the morning.				

# METEOROLOGICAL REGISTER.

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Date	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.	Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.
1854. March				1854. April			
			in about 2 o'clock p.m., lasting till 5 o'clock.*				About 1 o'clock p.m. heavy gust of wind.
28	- -	-	Between 1 and 2 o'clock in the morning again a light rain, lasting about an hour. After sunrise the sky became clearer, and at 9 o'clock a.m. the sun burst forth; heavy gale the whole day long.	11	- -	-	Warm. About 2 o'clock p.m. violent gusts of wind.
				12	- -	-	A warm day.
				13	No observation.		
				14	- -	-	About noon a southerly gale.
				15-18	- -	-	No observation.
				19	- -	-	The sun very troublesome.
				21	- -	-	Sky dull; windy.
				27	- -	-	Night very warm. Sky in the morning not clear.
29	- -	-	Day clear, but windy; not too warm.	28	- -	-	Fine morning; day very warm.
30	- -	-	Sunny, but strong gale blowing.	30	- -	-	Very warm day.
31	- -	-	At times sunny, then dull, rather windy.				At 9.30 p.m. a light and short fall of rain, followed by a breeze.
April				May			
1	- -	-	Dull; a little dropping in the afternoon.	1	- -	-	The sky in the evening thickly overcast with clouds.
2	- -	-	Clearer. About sunset a heavy gale sprang up.				
3	- -	-	A warm day.	2	- -	-	Cloudy; the sun burst forth about 3 o'clock p.m. All this time along the Niger a heavy dew in the evening and during the night.
4	- -	-	Fine cool morning, with the usual northerly gale; in the afternoon quiet.				
5	- -	-	Warm day.	3	- -	-	A clear day.
6	- -	-	Morning cool.	4	- -	-	A clear day. 3 o'clock p.m. thunder in the distance, towards S. and S.E. 3.45 a
7	- -	-	Fresh wind.				
8	- -	-	Very cool night.				
9	- -	-	Warm day; no wind. About sunset overcast.				
10	- -	-	Night not so cool.				

\* All the people assured me that the preceding year the rain-fall about this time of the year had been much more considerable. They generally reckon four rainy days in March and three in April, and call this season the Nisán.

Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.	Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.
1854. May				1854. May			
			regular rain, lasting 10 m. Round about us thunder and rain, lasting till evening. At 5 o'clock p.m. another light rain and dropping till sunset.	8	-	-	Sky dull.
				9	-	-	Sky still dull; in the afternoon clearer.
				10	-	-	Day dull and cloudy, evening clear.
				11	-	-	A hot wind from the desert in the afternoon.
5	-	-	Morning tolerably clear. At 3 p.m. clouds gathered in the east; thunder in that direction. Gradually a storm ascended from the south like a battery, breaking forth with a tremendous gust of wind. At 7 o'clock p.m. the thunder clouds returned from the N., whither they had withdrawn, and a most violent shower of rain came down, lasting for an hour with unabated violence, then more moderate till 9 o'clock p.m. At 1 p.m. temperature constantly between 104° and 108°.	12	-	-	Lazy and overcast in the afternoon.
				13	-	-	Clear.
				14	-	-	
				15	-	-	Clear in the morning; hot wind from the desert in the afternoon. About 1 p.m. temperature between 105° and 108°.
				16	-	-	Strong north-easterly wind, called "erife."
				22	-	-	Very cold morning.
				23	-	-	Cold morning.
				24	-	-	(Bamba.) — Sky thickly overcast, a heavy rain towards the S., beyond the Niger. Gradually a heavy gale came up; rainy. Even with us a few drops of rain fell. 9½ o'clock a.m. a heavy shower, lasting a quarter of an hour. The sun broke through the clouds about 3 o'clock p.m.
6	-	-	Sky still overcast, the sun bursting forth about 8 o'clock a.m. Evening clear.	25	-	-	Sky in the morning tolerably clear, since noon overcast with clouds. About 2 p.m. a light rain of short
7	-	-	The whole day sky overcast, the atmosphere about sunset very oppressive.				

# METEOROLOGICAL REGISTER.

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Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.	Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.
1854. May				1854. June			
			duration. About 3 p.m. another thunder - storm arose, but passed by without rain, only the thunder-claps being heard. 5 o'clock another thunder - storm, with a powerful sand-storm, but no rain.	1	-	-	The air became much cooler. Several thunder-storms in the afternoon, the second approaching from the N. at 6 o'clock p.m., followed by a light fall of rain at 6.15, continuing, with a short interruption, till 10 o'clock at night, and cooling the hot sandy soil.
26	-	-	Sky overcast. At 2 o'clock p.m. a light shower, followed by a second. On the southern side of the Niger a great deal more rain fell. Later in the afternoon the sky became clearer, but the whole of the evening much heat lightning, towards N. & N.E.	2	-	-	Cool and fresh; fine day.
				3	-	-	Fine warm day.
				4	-	-	In the morning a thunder-storm towards the W.; at 8 o'clock a heavy gale.
				5	-	-	A clear day, afterwards windy. At 5 o'clock p.m. a thunder - storm arose, but without rain near us.
27	-	-	2½ p.m. a heavy thunder - storm rose from the E., but passed by without rain, carrying with it an immense quantity of sand.	6	-	-	Very warm day.
				7	-	-	Exceedingly warm; in the evening heat-lightning in every direction.
28	-	-	Warm day; a thunder-storm in A'ribinda.	8	-	-	2.30 after midnight a thunder-storm rose, followed by light rain, lasting from 3.30 to 8.30 a.m. Then followed a heavy gale.
29	-	-	Clear day.				
30	-	-	Rainy day; in the earlier part of the day twice a little rain. At 3.30 p.m. a very heavy gale arose, but bringing us only sand. Rain in A'ribinda.	9	-	-	Fine.
				10	-	-	
				12	-	-	Cloudy in the afternoon; heat lightning in the evening.

Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in shade Fahrenheit.	Remarks.	Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in shade Fahrenheit.	Remarks.
1854. June 13	- -	-	A thunder-storm gathered at 2 o'clock after midnight, accompanied by a heavy gale, but no rain. Sky the whole day hazy.	1854. June.			times a few drops of rain, with thunder towards the W. 3:30 p.m. a heavy thunder-storm approached, passed by towards the N., where much rain fell.
14							
15	- -	-	At 3 o'clock in the morning a thunder-storm approached from the N., but only a few drops of rain fell.	26	- -	-	About 5 o'clock p.m. a thunder-storm passed over our heads without rain, but accompanied by a heavy gale of wind.
16	- -	-	About 4 o'clock in the morning a thunder-storm gathered, without thunder and lightning, but considerable rain, lasting till 8.30.	27	- -	-	Clear and fine morning, about noon very warm, in the evening heat lightning. About 8 o'clock p.m. a thunder-storm without rain; after midnight a second, gathering from S.W., with a little rain.
17	- -	-	Fine.				
18	- -	-	About sunset a threatening thunder-storm arose, but passed by without any rain. In the night, however, tolerable rain without much wind.	28	- -	-	Fine day; clouds and heat lightning in the evening.
19	- -	-	Fine.	29	- -	-	Clear morning; afterwards very warm. About 2 p.m. a storm gathered from the E., and brought a light rain of short continuance; returned afterwards from the W., and approached with a heavy rain at 4.30 p.m.; lasting half an hour.
20	- -	-	Clear.				
21	- -	-	About 9 o'clock a.m. the sun broke through the cloudy sky. In the evening heat lightning; no rain.				
22	- -	-	A little cloudy; very hot; heat lightning in the evening.				
23	- -	-	Warm.				
24	- -	-	A little cooler.	30	- -	-	Fine clear morning; no rain.
25	- -	-	Cloudy; several				

Date	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.	Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.
1854. July				1854. July			
1	-	-	About 8 o'clock a.m. a strong gale.				sky, but were scattered by a heavy gale. At 2.30 in the morning a heavy rain broke forth, not accompanied by thunder, lasting about 20 m.
2	-	-	Clear.				
3	-	-	Fine cool morning.				
4	-	-	About sunset a thunder - storm approached gradually from the E., but without rain.				
5	-	-	3 p.m. rain, in the beginning lighter, then more considerable, coming from the N. At 5 o'clock another heavy fall of rain, lasting about 20 minutes.	14	-	-	The sky thickly overcast in the morning, in the afternoon clear.
6	-	-	Clear.	15	-	-	About 6 o'clock in the morning a heavy thunder-storm gathered, breaking forth with a heavy rain at 6.30, lasting with equal violence till about 8 o'clock, then gentler till 10.30.
7	-	-	Early in the morning a thunder-storm passed by without any rain.				
8	-	-	About sunset a thunder - storm from the E., accompanied by a light rain, lasting till late at night.	16	-	-	The sky beautifully clear in the morning, in the afternoon occasionally overcast with clouds.
9	-	-	Clear.				
10	-	-	A fine clear morning.	17	-	-	Clear. At 10 o'clock in the evening a thunder - storm gathered from S.E., but brought us only moderate rain.
11	-	-	About 10 o'clock p.m. a thunder-storm, which had long been gathering, broke forth with heavy rain, which with less vehemence continued the whole night long, accompanied by a heavy gale.	18 } 19 } 20 }	- - -	- - -	Clear. 5 o'clock in the morning a very black battery of thunder - clouds approached from the S.E., bringing a heavy tornado, but only a few drops of rain.
12							
13	-	-	About 10 o'clock thick clouds overcast the				



Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.	Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.
1854. July				1854. July			
21	- - -	-	In the night, from 21st to 22nd, a moderate rain.	31	- - -	-	and a violent rain followed.
22	- - -	-	Cool morning, great humidity.				Sky the whole day overcast, cleared up in the afternoon.
23	- - -	-	Clear.				
24	- - -	-	In the morning heavy rain-clouds, but no rain. In the afternoon a thunder-storm gathered from the E., but the clouds were scattered.	Aug.			
				1	- - -	-	Clear.
				2	- - -	-	Day dark and cloudy, the sun breaking through the clouds about noon. Fine evening.
25	- - -	-	Clear.	3	- - -	-	Drops of rain continued to fall the whole morning, the sun breaking through the clouds at 2.30 p.m.
26	- - -	-	3.30 p.m. a thunder-storm in the E., beyond the river.				
27	- - -	-	Warm day. About 4 o'clock p.m. a heavy thunder-storm gathered from W., but was scattered; then a second one from the N., with violent rain, lasting from 6.30 till 8 o'clock. After half an hour's respite another thunder-storm broke forth, with heavy wind and rain, the dropping continuing till near morning.	4	- - -	-	8 o'clock a.m. the sky thickly overcast, rainy. Rain set in at 8.45, continued with interruption; at 3.30 p.m. a very heavy shower, lasting half an hour with great violence, afterwards more gentle.
				5	- - -	-	Day rainy.
				6	- - -	-	4.50 p.m. a light rain.
28	- - -	-	The sky overcast, the sun breaking through the clouds at 4 o'clock p.m.	7	- - -	-	Lightning early in the morning, followed at 5.45 by a moderate rain without wind, lasting till 7.10; then single drops of rain. The sun broke through the clouds at noon; a fine afternoon.
29	- - -	-					
30	- - -	-	At 9.30 p.m. a heavy thunder-storm arose, although it had been clear before,	8	- - -	-	A fine day; no rain.

Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.	Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.
1854. Aug. 9	- -	-	Sky the whole day overcast; after 3 p.m. threatening thunder-clouds gathered, discharging a violent rain, lasting till 5 o'clock; then more moderate, but settling in with fresh violence at 6 and lasting till 7 o'clock.	1854. Aug.			with interruption, after sunset a heavy rain lasting almost the whole of the night.
				18	- -	-	The rain began towards morning with increased violence; a little rain in the course of the following night.
10	- -	-	Dry.	19	- -	-	A heavy rain in the morning, lasting half an hour, then dropping till 9 a.m.; afterwards the sun broke through the clouds.
11	- -	-	Clear in the morning, overcast at noon, and drops of rain. At 3 o'clock heavy thunder - clouds, but without rain.	20	- -	-	Tolerably clear in the morning, at times a few drops of rain, a thunder-storm in the afternoon; regular rain from 4 p.m. till 8 p.m.
12	- -	-	At 3.5 p.m. a thunder - storm, but only moderate rain, lasting half an hour.	21	- -	-	Tolerably clear; from 11.30 a.m. drops of rain till about 2 p.m. Afterwards the sun broke through the clouds. The afternoon clear.
13	- -	-	Clear.				
14	- -	-	The whole day sky overcast, but no rain.	22	- -	-	2 o'clock a.m. a heavy shower, lasting till 4.30, then a little rain occasionally. At 3 o'clock p.m. a thunder - storm from N.W. with rain at intervals, more continuous from 4 o'clock
15	- -	-	A few drops of rain in the morning, during the afternoon sunshine.				
16	- -	-	Sky thickly overcast. The rain commenced at 6.30 a.m., lasting almost the whole of the day, at times light, at others violent.				
17	- -	-	(Gando.)— In the course of the morning the sun broke through the clouds. In the afternoon rain				

Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.	Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.
1854. Aug.				1854. Aug.			
23	- -	-	p.m. till about sunset. About noon a thunder-storm in the distance; 1.50 p.m. a light rain till 3 o'clock; at 4 p.m. the sun broke through the clouds.	29	- -	-	the weather tolerably clear. At midnight a violent shower.
				30	- -	-	Day tolerably clear. 2 p.m. heavy rain.
24	- -	-	Sky cloudy. About 9 o'clock p.m. a few drops of rain, lightning and thunder.	Sept. 1	- -	-	In the evening violent thunder-storm, but without any rain.
25	- -	-	Overcast. At 7 o'clock the sun broke forth, fine and genial. 1 o'clock p.m. a light shower of rain; from 2 to 4 o'clock another light shower.	2	- -	-	In the night heavy rain, lasting almost till morning.
26	- -	-	Fine day. At sunset a thunder-storm gathered; at 8 o'clock p.m. a light rain; then repeatedly in the course of the night.	3	- -	-	Dry.
				4	- -	-	At 4.30 p.m. heavy storm, little rain.
27	- -	-	Rain in the morning till 7 o'clock a.m. Just after sunset a thunder-storm, with moderate rain; then at 9 o'clock a second one excessively violent, lasting about an hour and a half.	5	- -	-	Clear. In the afternoon and evening a thunder-storm, with much heat - lightning, but only a few drops of rain.
				6	- -	-	At 11 o'clock p.m. a heavy thunder-storm with heavy rain, but only of short duration.
28	- -	-	6.45 a.m. a light thunder storm, with moderate rain, lasting till 8 o'clock, then	7	- -	-	Dry.
				8	- -	-	In the latter part of the night, towards morning, heavy rain; then after a little interruption another shower till 8.30 a.m.
				9	- -	-	At sunset a thunder-storm from the S. passed by towards the W., bringing us but little rain.
				10	- -	-	Weather clear. At 10 p.m. thunder-storm with but little rain.

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Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.	Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.
1854. Sept.				1854. Sept.			
11	-	-	Cloudy. About 9 o'clock p.m. a heavy shower.				storm gathered with a heavy gale, but little rain about 10 o'clock.
12	-	-	In the evening heat-lightning in the S.W.; no rain.	28	-	-	Heat-lightning in the evening.
13	-	-	At 7 o'clock p.m. rain of long continuance.	29	-	-	Dry.
14	-	-	In the evening thunder-storm, but no rain.	Oct. 1-4	No observation.		No rain.
15	-	-	No rain.	5	-	-	At 10 o'clock p.m. a heavy gale, followed by a tolerable fall of rain, lasting till 3 o'clock.
16	-	-	In the evening heat-lightning; no rain.	6-8	-	-	No rain.
17	-	-	Thunder-storm, but no rain, in the evening.	9	-	-	(Moriki).—In the night from the 8th to 9th, heavy fall of dew, like rain.
18	-	-	Very warm day; in the evening again dry.	10-30	-	-	No observation.
19	-	-	No rain.	1855. Jan. to Apr. 15	} No observation		
20	-	-	Very fine morning.				
21	-	-	In the afternoon heavy thunder-clouds passed by with a few drops of rain.	15	12.30 p.m.	103	(Kukawa).—Rain-clouds. Repeated thunder. A few drops of rain.
22	-	-	About 7 o'clock a.m. a little dropping; afterwards the dark clouds were scattered.	17	2 p.m.	103	
			About 9 o'clock p.m. a thunder-storm gathered; only a few drops of rain.	18	-	-	Not clear.
				19	2 p.m.	107	
				20-24	No observation.		
				25	2.15 p.m.	108	Warm day, with southerly wind.
23	-	-	Dry.	26	2 p.m.	112.5	
24	-	-		27	2 p.m.	113	
25	-	-	Heat-lightning in the evening.	28	No observation.		
26	-	-	Heat-lightning in the evening.	29	sunrise	82	
					2 p.m.	118	
27	-	-	In the evening cloudy; heat lightning. After 9 o'clock a thunder-	30	2 p.m.	112.5	
				May 1-3	No observation.		

Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.	Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.
1855. May 4	- - -	-	In the evening heat-lightning towards the S. and S.E.	1855. June			another light rain.
7	2 p.m.	106		6	2 p.m.	104	
10	- - -	-	3 30 p.m. a tempest, with a sand-storm, a few drops of rain, more towards the N.E.	7	2 p.m.	109	
			A heavy gale. After sunset a heavy thunder-storm, but without rain.	9	2.30 p.m.	108	
				10	No observation.		
				11	2.15 p.m.	108	
				12	2.30 p.m.	110	
				13	1.45 p.m.	107.5	(Kalala, near Bilma.) — A little after midnight a heavy gale arose; 1.45 p.m. a little rain.
11	- - -	-	In the night a thunder-storm, with much lightning, and a heavy gale.	14	No observation.		
				15	2.30 p.m.	110	
				16	2 p.m.	112	
15	- - -	-	A hot day. Heat-lightning in the evening.	17	sunrise	73	
					sunset	83	
16	- - -	-	2.30 p.m. a thunder-storm from N., passing to the W. Thunder and lightning, but no rain.	18	sunrise	69	
					2 p.m.	109	
				19	sunrise	76.5	
				20	sunrise	79	
					2 p.m.	109	
				21	2.30 p.m.	111.5	
				24	2.30 p.m.	109	
				25	2.30 p.m.	109	
					sunset	101.5	
17	- - -	-	Heat-lightning in the evening.	26	sunrise	86	
18	- - -	-	From 4 o'clock till 7 o'clock a.m. a light rain with interruption, accompanied by a strong gale.	27	- - -	-	Warm day.
					2.30 p.m.	114	Heavy gale in the night.
				29	- - -	-	Very heavy sand-storm early in the morning.
19	- - -	-	Early in the morning a light rain.		2 p.m.	109	A heavy gale.
June 5	- - -	-	At noon a thunder-storm gathering; 12.30 p.m. a light rain; 4 p.m.	30 July	sunrise	81	
				2	sunrise	68	
				5	sunrise	68	
				22	1 p.m.	111	
				24	2 p.m.	112	
				27	2.30 p.m.	108	

## APPENDIX VIII.

### A FEW REMARKS WITH REGARD TO THE MAPS.

By DR. A. PETERMANN.

It was originally intended to compose a full memoir on the subject of the construction of the maps showing Dr. Barth's travels and researches; but the preparation of the drawings themselves has, up to the last moment, occupied so much time that, in order not still further to delay the publication of these volumes, an apology only for a memoir can be offered. Besides, all the native information and the itineraries, which form the substance of so considerable a portion of the two general maps, have been given at full length in the Appendices to the five volumes. It was also felt that, better than all the most elaborate disquisitions and discussions that could be advanced in such a memoir, will be the test applied to the maps by the Niger Expeditions, which for a period of five years are to proceed both up the Kwára and the Bénúwé by means of steamboats, commanded by experienced naval officers, who will set at rest the true positions of such of Dr. Barth's points as they may be able to reach. The first expedition which was sent out to follow up Dr. Barth's discoveries, namely the expedition up the Bénúwé in 1854, commanded by Dr. Baikie, did not, it is true, reach the point where Dr. Barth crossed that river in 1851\*; but a second expe-

\* The information Dr. Barth was able to collect with reference to the lower part of the Bénúwé, as far as subsequently surveyed by Dr. Baikie, was rather meagre; yet even with regard to those few data, provisionally as they were laid down from Dr. Barth's original map in A. Petermann's "Account of the progress of the Expedition to Central Africa, London, 1854," Dr. Baikie acknowledges the service that map proved to him, and records his testimony both as to the amount and general correctness of the information it contains. (See Dr. Baikie's "Narrative of an Exploring Voyage in 1854," p. 446.)

dition will, no doubt, penetrate further. Meanwhile, the present expedition up the Kwára will, it is hoped, reach Say during the present year, and, by fixing the position of that place accurately, will offer an important point of comparison with the results of Dr. Barth's labours.

After the foregoing remarks, it must at once be distinctly stated that Dr. Barth himself has made no astronomical observations either of latitude or longitude. The best established of Dr. Vogel's positions, therefore, were made use of in constructing the maps, and consequently they form the basis of most of the routes connected with Múrzuk, Kúkawa, Zínder, and Yákoba. Beyond these points the routes were almost wholly laid down from dead reckoning, with the exception of those from Tripoli to Múrzuk, *viâ* Mizda, and from Múrzuk to Ghát and Aír, where Dr. Overweg's observations of latitude were made available, as well as the only observation of longitude that could be made out from the fragmentary and torn remains of his papers, namely, that of the island of Belárigo in Lake Tsád.\* It will be seen, therefore, that by

\* The cardinal points of the maps where astronomical observations had been made by Dr. Vogel, besides Tripoli, are the following :

			Longitude E.	Latitude N.
Sókna	-	-	15° 48' 30"	29° 4' 4"
Múrzuk	-	-	14 10 15	25 55 16
Kúkawa	-	-	13 24 0	12 55 14
Yákoba	-	-	9 31 45	10 20 10
Zária	-	-	7 23 10	11 4 46
Bebéji	-	-	8 6 25	11 35 30
Zínder	-	-	9 2 45	13 47 6

Besides, Dr. Vogel has made astronomical observations at the following places: Bení Ulíd, Enfát, Bonjem, Godfah, O'm el 'Abíd, Gurméda (wrong name), Sebhá, Bimbéja, Bahr el dúd, O'm el mié, Lake Mandra, Jerma, Ghodwa, Mafún, Mastúta, Gatrón, Tejerri, El A'hmar, Má-faras, Jehaye, Ashenúmna, Shemúttöro, Bilma, Zau kurá, A'gudem, Bólkashi farri, Kufle, Kibbu, first outlying fresh-water basin, north-western end of the Tsád, Ngégimi, Bárruwa, Yó, Morá, Ujé (Mábani), Máshena, Múniyó (Búne), Zínder, Gújeba, Gebbel, Gombe, Dan Hajji, Múri, Tindang, Díkowa, Delhé, Wáza, A'dishén (Kadé, residence of A'dishén), frontier of territory of A'dishén, north end of Túburi Lake, Túburi village, mountain

far the greater portion of the countries over which Dr. Barth's labours extend, was laid down either from dead reckoning or from computations of native routes and native information. Thus the whole route from Zinder to Timbúktu, for example, a distance by Dr. Barth's travelling lines of upwards of 1200 English miles, had to be laid down solely from dead reckoning taken from a very accurately kept journal; and the magnetic variation had to be guessed at. Yet, despite of these shortcomings, the writer hopes that in the construction of these maps, in several of which he was greatly assisted by the original maps laid down by the traveller himself, he has not departed very widely from the truth; and he looks confidently forward to their being tested by the Niger expeditions.

● A great deal has been said of late on astronomical observations in connection with African exploration, and it has—in some instances—been represented as if only those travels and explorations which were based on such observations were valuable, while all others were of no value. Assertions made thus indiscriminately are most objectionable, as a careful noting of the bearings and distances of each day's journey, such as Dr. Barth has made, is far preferable to many astronomical observations which cannot be implicitly relied on; it is only the accurate astronomical observations which deserve to be regarded as well established points in a traveller's route. In our own case we could adduce many striking instances of the uncertainty of occasional observa-

on west side of lake. (See the Journal and the Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of 1854—1858. But in the Journal, vol. xxv. p. 242., there is a misprint, the latitude of Kúkawa being given as  $12^{\circ} 15' 14''$ .)

Mr. Overweg's latitudes, besides his observation at Belárigo ( $14^{\circ} 50' 0''$  long.,  $13^{\circ} 26' 37''$  lat.), relate to the following places: Mizida, Tabonéh, El Hasi, Wáfi Ajúnjer, Falésselez, Aísala, Tint-téllust, A'mfisás, island of Gúria in the Tsád, and on his route to the Músgu country, Yéli, Marte, Alla, Del-hé, Zógoma, Mása, five other intermediate stations, and three observations in the district of Wúlia. (See Petermann's account, p. 15.)



tions. Thus, although Dr. Vogel was an astronomer by profession, fully competent to make observations with care and accuracy; yet, in the construction of Dr. Barth's own routes, south, south-east, and east from Kúkawa to A'damáwa, Músgu, and Bagírmi, we saw good reason to reject all Dr. Vogel's positions bearing upon these routes, as Ujé, Díkowna, Dillhé, Wáza, Kadé (A'dishén), &c. &c., and to prefer simply Dr. Barth's itineraries of dead reckoning.

NOTE by Dr. Barth.—In constructing the western sheet of the general maps, no notice has been taken of the fact of Major Laing having entered the desert of Taneczruítét in  $23^{\circ} 56' N.$  (*Quarterly Review*, 1828, vol. xxxviii. p. 101.) But we do not know whether Laing proceeded by way of Inzíze or by some other route. It is, however, not improbable that Aúlef, the starting point of those routes, lies about twenty miles further south.

The identification of Bot-hadíye with Bakel on the Senegal, is not quite certain; but at all events it is a place at no great distance to the N.W. of it.

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## ERRATA.

- Vol. I. page 240, line 8, *read* "Ramadhán" *instead of* "Rhamadán."  
 „ 459, line 1, *read* "10th century" *instead of* "12th century."
- Vol. II. page 233, line 16, *add after the words* "few huts" *the words* "This was the site of the celebrated town of Dámasak."  
 „ 272, line 1, *read* "Berber" *instead of* "Ber Ber."
- Vol. III. page 502, line 9 from below
- |                    |   |                         |
|--------------------|---|-------------------------|
| „ 512, „ 5         | } | read نجر instead of نجر |
| „ 513, „ 2 and 8 „ |   |                         |
| „ 517, „ 1 „       |   |                         |
| „ 520, „ 6 „       |   |                         |
- Vol. IV. page 331, heading: "huts of I'sayé" *instead of* "clayhouses of I'sayé."  
 „ 349, heading: "Bélé chief of Haw-n-Adak" *instead of* "Hans-n-Adak."
- Vol. V. page 176, line 9 from above, *read* "who although belonging" *instead of* "who although not belonging."  
 „ 208, line 1 from below, *read* "of a very unseemly breed" *instead of* "of a very awkward breed."  
 „ 329, heading: "leaving Gando" *instead of* "departure for Gando."

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